

FBIS

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ATA REPORTS SUSPENSION OF GENEVA TALKS

AU241500 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Text] Tirana, November 24 (ATA) -- Referring to the American and Soviet official sources, the news agencies report that the demagogical Geneva talks between the representatives of the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, on the intermediate nuclear weapons in Europe, are suspended. This farce hatched up by Washington and Moscow, which intends to deceive the European and world public opinion, has been going on for about 2 years. In the meantime, according to the Bonn official spokesman, the first American "Pershing II" nuclear missiles arrived in the FRG, after the recent arrival of the first "cruise" missiles in Greenham Common in Britain.

MBFR DELEGATE ON EUROMISSILE IMPACT ON TALKS

AU281333 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Nov 83 p 3

[MTI report on 24 November Vienna MBFR session: "Session in Vienna; The U.S. Missile Deployment Has a Harmful Impact on the Talks; Speech by Dr Janos Petran"]

[Text] The deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe upsets the balance that has developed over decades between the two military alliances and these developments greatly affect the Vienna talks as well, declared Ambassador Dr Janos Petran, head of the Hungarian delegation, at the 24 November session of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

The ambassador emphasized that NATO's missile deployment endangers peace not only in Europe but in the entire world. With their new proposals submitted this year, the socialist countries have demonstrated their political intention to contribute to the success of the Vienna talks. The Western concept of leaving armaments out of the reduction cannot lead to a reduction of the level of confrontation in central Europe. He recalled that in the first half of the seventies, at the height of detente, there were great hopes for an early successful conclusion of the Vienna talks. However, the world political atmosphere has changed during the period that has since passed -- through no fault of the socialist countries. In conclusion, Janos Petran called on the NATO countries to offer proof -- as the Warsaw Pact countries have done -- of their willingness to come to terms, make progress, and develop a compromise at the talks.

The NATO countries' spokesman reiterated the customary generalities about the (alleged) superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries' military complement hampering agreement, and adopted a position in favor of a continuation of the Vienna talks. The socialist countries' spokesman stressed that the deployment of missiles can have only a negative impact on the Vienna talks, the next session of which will be held on 1 December.

PAPER ATTACKS SOVIET 'EXPANSIONIST AIMS'

AU251514 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 25 Nov 83

["Soviet 'Internationalism' -- Imperialist Policy for World Domination"-- article of 'ZERI I POPULLIT' -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 25 (ATA) -- In the context of the revisionist concept of "socialist internationalism", the Soviet press is devoting ever greater attention to the viewpoint on "countries of socialist orientation." This is an attempt to argue that a number of former colonial countries in Africa and Asia are allegedly advancing on the "non-capitalist road of development," a road that leads to "the construction of socialist society in the future."

In an article on this problem, the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes among others that the revisionist ideologists "argue" the idea of the transition of backward countries to socialism with the so-called "state of national democracy," which has an above class nature and which, as the Soviet revisionists claim, enjoys the credibility and support of the broad working masses in labeling them as "countries of socialist orientation", Moscow does not proceed from the class criterion, but from the links these countries have with the Soviet Union.

Mentioning numerous facts which show of the ever greater penetration of the Soviet Union in the developing countries through the innumerable agreements, the economic and technical cooperation, the vast profitable investments, etc. the newspaper stresses that huge sums to the tune of billions of rubles are granted on condition that they be invested in those sectors which are to the advantage of the Soviet Economy and used to buy outdated Soviet Technology. This policy is called by Moscow as "internationalist." In fact, this "internationalism" conceals the frenzied attempts for a more profound economic, political and military and economic aids to the so-called "countries of socialist orientation" with the granting of the military facilities on the part of these countries to the Soviet Fleet. This is how they have acted with some countries of Northern Africa, the Horn of Africa and elsewhere. The cases have not been few that such countries have rejected these conditions. In the last UNCTAD conference, several developing countries demanded that the "socialist community" does not condition the granting of the "free credits."

After speaking of the dispatch of thousand of Moscow emissaries to these countries to prepare the terrain for intervention, to the training of numerous specialists of these countries in the Soviet schools etc. the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" writes in conclusion: "The humanitarian Soviet internationalism," the doctrine of "the state of national democracy," and other chauvinist and social imperialist theories are ideological and propaganda instruments which intend at camouflaging the open expansionist aims of the Soviet Union towards different countries and regions of the world. They aim, as Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, "at sabotaging the sincere socialist aspirations existing in many countries, at provoking ideological confusion, at undermining the struggle of the progressive forces."

ALIA RECEIVES UPPER VOLTA INFORMATION MINISTER

AU262010 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received today the Upper Volta Government delegation led by Adam Ture, minister of information. A warm and friendly talk took place. The reception was also attended by Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture; Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Marash Ajati, director general of the radio-television.

DAILY CARRIES BILAK REPORT TO CC PRESIDUM

AU261545 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Nov 83 pp 3-4

["Report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the Current International Situation," presented by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, on 23 November 1983 in Prague]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the Central Committee is confronted with the task of discussing and adopting the national economic plan for 1984, and at the same time adopting a stand on the current international situation. The CPCZ is consistently fulfilling the 16th congress line in the sphere of foreign policy. Both the Central Committee and the government are devoting great attention to international problems. They are promoting in every way the consolidation of the unity of our socialist community and of the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. By sidespread foreign-political activity, the CSSR is significantly contributing toward establishing conditions for developing the cooperation of all forces striving for peace and social progress.

Full Support for the Struggle for Peace and Progress

Current developments in international relations oblige the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the government to implement their decisions operationally and quickly. It will therefore be correct for the Central Committee to affirm the measures taken by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government in the interests of the CSSR's defense and security. At the same time, we want to express full support for the peace policy pursued by the CPSU, the Soviet state, the countries organized in the Warsaw Pact, and the entire socialist community in their struggle to avert war, consolidate their economic strength, and deepen their cohesiveness and their defense capability.

In formulating the 16th CPCZ Congress line, it was stated that the period that is now facing us would not be easy, either in the sphere of ensuring the national economic tasks, or in the sphere of the international situation. The post-congress period has fully confirmed that the realization of the congress line will be taking place in conditions characterized by the further aggravation of the international situation by the most reactionary circles of imperialism. In their endeavor to reverse the historically inevitable transformations and to halt the detente process, they have taken the course of escalating feverish armament by creating hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world -- the course of violence directed against the peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

This has given rise to the congress directive on enhancing the demands placed on the work of leading cadres and on their ability to direct, lead, educate, and organize our working people to fulfill the party's socioeconomic program and grasp our place and role in the struggle for peace and social progress.

In the first place, this requires in particular that we systematically enhance our ideological preparedness; discipline; adherence to principles; the sense for innovation; resoluteness in overcoming bureaucracy, that which is stereotype and routine; and a conciliatory attitude toward shortcomings. These demands must not be made dependent on anything, either today or tomorrow. They follow from the tasks of our times. Their virtue also lies in the fact that they do not require any new financial or material resources -- only a high communist and patriotic awareness. These are the sources that determine the fulfillment of the present and future tasks.

Today, when we are discussing the tasks of the fourth quarter of the Seventh 5-year Plan, these demands appear even further enhanced. Never in the past have our party and our socialist state been so urgently faced with the issue of the tasks of our national economic plan being so greatly and comprehensively interlinked with the development of the international situation and the defense of the fatherland as they are at present. From this it follows that we must be more consistent in implementing the long-term economic strategy of highly efficient and highest quality work in all fields, in rationally using the production potential, in handling and extracting the best value from all resources with the maximum thrift, in improving management, in broadly developing the working people's initiative, and in involving our economy far more deeply in the socialist economic integration and the international division of labor, but also in maintaining an exacting attitude toward man's all-round education and upbringing, toward educating him in the spirit of socialist patriotism and socialist proletarian internationalism.

Domestic policy is, and must be, a primary concern of the Communist Party and the socialist state. However, we must not for a moment diminish our attention to what is happening in the world, to whom and to which forces, are threatening socialism and the peaceful work of our people.

Imperialism Is Pushing the World Into a Catastrophe

We are living in such a complicated period and in such a tense international situation that the role and significance of the organizational and political-educational work that is carried out by the party, the socialist state, and all bodies and organizations of the National Front are growing to an unprecedented extent. It is vitally important that the broadest strata of our population are able to find their bearings correctly, that they are able to distinguish both what is essential from a long-term point of view, and what is the task of the day. They must know what the countries of the socialist community are striving for, and what imperialism's intentions are. Our working people must increasingly realize what danger threatens the world and our peoples from imperialist policy, which is pushing the world to the edge of the precipice. They, too, must know their share in this historical struggle. They must grasp that only conscientious and devoted work contributes to the economic advance and the defensive strength of our republic, to the growth of its importance and share in the socialist community, and in the struggle against war and for world peace. History has taught us many times that ploys, concessions, or pleadings will not frustrate imperialist threats.

We are living through the most critical period since World War II. "This period," Comrade Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, stressed, "is characterized by a confrontation of two totally opposed world outlooks and two political trends -- socialism and imperialism, the intensity and sharpness of this confrontation are unprecedented in the entire postwar period. A fight is going on for the hearts and the minds of several billion people throughout the world."

Millions of people throughout the world have felt that the international situation has changed radically in recent years and the most reactionary forces of imperialism are to blame for this. Imperialism has created most dangerous hotbeds of war and tension, and is fanning them. In Africa, Asia, and Latin America there are areas where not a day passes without blood being shed through the fault of imperialism, without people dying. The situation in the Middle and Near East, as well as in the Caribbean, is extremely tense.

In Europe, American imperialism is attempting to engage in the most dangerous and risky adventure of all. Europe is the most sensitive area of the world. Two world conflagrations have flared up here already.

In Europe, socialism is strongest. This is the main obstacle that prevents American imperialism from dictating its conditions to the world. The most reactionary U.S. forces are proceeding from the idea that, if they succeed in destroying the Soviet Union, this main support and pillar of socialism -- even at the cost of the whole of Europe, including their allies, finding its death in the flames -- then nothing would stand in the way of their realizing their plans for hegemony. That is why we must devote our primary attention to the situation in Europe. We stress this not only because we ourselves live in Europe and because it concerns us directly, but also because it concerns the whole world. Any war conflagration that breaks out in Europe would mean a nuclear catastrophe for all mankind. It would be a mistake not to see that everybody realizes that danger fully. There are still many people who understand the current tense international situation as a temporary deviation, and who are rather carefree.

Detente Is Useful for All Peoples

Among other things, this is also due to the fact that Europe has been living in peace for 38 years, thanks to the great efforts of the socialist states, and the USSR in particular. More and more people have come to realize that it is both possible and necessary for the two differing social systems to coexist. A relatively long period of detente has had a beneficial effect on the development of international relations. This has brought the peoples calm and hope.

All countries and peoples, regardless of their social system, have benefited from this. For the socialist countries, the detente has never been a matter of calculation or speculation. We understood detente in the past, and we understand it today, as the only proper alternative in the development of the current class-divided world. At the same time, our party has pointed out time and again that detente and peaceful coexistence cannot eliminate the laws governing the class struggle. Just as capitalism will not renounce its rule voluntarily, the working people also cannot give up their right to fight exploitation. Imperialism has not weakened its ideological subversion against socialism for a single moment. It has gradually transferred this subversion from the ideological sphere to international relations. In the West, and above all in the United States, those politicians have been asserting themselves who started preaching that detente is a one-way street which, allegedly, serves only the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. They have been preaching the policy of the gradual departure from detente. The word "detente" has almost completely disappeared from their vocabulary; they have begun to shift to the policy of confrontation. And they have even begun to blame the policy of detente for the deepening economic crisis in the capitalist world.

However, the deviation from the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems has yielded nothing that was positive for capitalism. The general crisis of capitalism is steadily deepening. All the forecasts about finding a way of improving capitalism have proved false. Their claim that the socialist ideas have become obsolete has been disproved, and is being disproved daily, by life itself. Capitalism is incapable of eliminating crises and of resolving the growing socioeconomic problems. Its helplessness is a source of fear, aggressiveness, and adventurism; the ability to realistically assess the given situation and the trends of historic development is petering out.

Even prior to World War II, imperialism was trying to find ways out of the economic crisis in armament, in foreign aggression and in an antipopular policy in its own countries. It saw a way out only in unleashing a war against the Soviet Union. It counted on resolving all its other problems by destroying the Soviet Union. The outcome of all this is general known.

Certain bourgeois politicians in the West are trying to make believe that the people have already forgotten this. Like their predecessors of the thirties, they, too, base their policy on false forecasts and illusions; they believe that what Hitlerite Germany failed to achieve, the United States and its allies can achieve today. It is sheer lunacy; it is unrealistic, but it would not be the first lunacy in history; and that is why the policy practiced by the United States and the NATO states must make us both highly vigilant and wary, and why we must neither relax, nor neglect this attitude in the slightest way.

The situation we are witnessing today has neither dropped from heaven, nor is it the result of Ronald Reagan's becoming U.S. President. The imperialist forces have been preparing the sharpening of the situation and the clash with the socialist community for a long time, and purposefully. They are finding it difficult to bear the changes that are now taking place in the world, changes in favor of social progress and peace.

In the same way that we have been striving, and continue to strive, to maintain, deepen, and expand peaceful coexistence, the U.S. military-industrial complex has been, and is still, mobilizing the most reactionary anticommunist forces; it has been purposefully preparing, both in the past and present, an attack against socialism and against the socialist community.

It took a long time to write the script for this. In the world drama, Reagan has been given only one role, which he was glad to accept; and, in the endeavor to excel, he is willing not only to play a modern Genghis Khan, but also really to become one. Marx's characterization of Lord Palmerston also applies to certain bourgeois politicians of today, and to Reagan in particular. "If he is not a universal statesman," Karl Marx said, "then he is certainly a universal actor -- he knows how to play heroic and comic roles, pathetic and intimate ones, roles in both a tragedy and a farce, even though a farce suits his nature better." The world is realizing today that the old truth can be applied here, namely that even a farce can turn into tragedy.

Our people, who have been living for almost four decades under conditions of a socialist social system, are asking -- regardless of whether they are old or young, some because they have already forgotten the bourgeois democracy and its election system, others because they have never known the bourgeois system -- how is it possible for just such a type of politician like Reagan to be elected to head the most powerful imperialist state?

It is a question that deserves deeper analysis; but one thing is incontrovertible: Reagan was not elected by the American people, he was installed by the most reactionary forces of the U.S. military-industrial complex. Moreover, the U.S. election law is so undemocratic that even though merely 27 percent of Americans with the right to vote had voted for Reagan, he became President, and there is nothing to prevent him from speaking in the name of all American people. Should some such thing happen in some socialist state, the bourgeois propaganda and governments would demand a repetition of the elections under international supervision. But they present their antipopular system as the model of freedom and democracy.

Why the Reaction Is Sharpening the International Situation

It is being increasingly confirmed that, in a period of a growing and sharpening general crisis of capitalism, the most reactionary forces of imperialism are choosing not the sober and realistic politicians to head the state, but the very opposite. Or did prewar Germany perhaps have no wiser and more able politician than Hitler?

But in order to overcome their crisis and realize their plans of conquest, the German big bourgeoisie and German militarism needed a maniac longing for fame, who would be able to make use of the whole range of demagoguery, who would release nationalist passions and racial hatred, and who would have neither moral, nor human inhibitions.

Today, too, imperialism is searching for a way out of the crisis. It is becoming increasingly aware that it cannot prove its supremacy over socialism in the long run. That is also why the U.S. military-industrial complex needed to set up a government that would orient itself toward creating tension, and not toward continuing the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Above all, the aggravation of the international situation means feverish armament and enormous profits for imperialism. At the same time, the imperialists have dreamed up a sick doctrine of having to "arm" us "to death" [uzbrojit] and forcing the socialist countries, to spend more and more on defense, thus disrupting their peaceful construction plans.

There is yet another factor that must be taken into account -- the psychology of the American citizen. The United States has always had the largest economic boom and the most rapid economic advance and rise in living standards during wartime. World War I meant devastation and impoverishment for Europe; but for the United States it meant something quite different -- an economic upsurge and enrichment. Ten years had passed in peace since World War I, and the United States, the whole capitalist world, found themselves in a deep economic crisis. It was only the preparations for World War II that brought them a new boom.

If World War II meant dozens of millions of dead, the destruction of thousands of cities, villages, and plants, and immense destruction of material and cultural values for many countries of Europe, and particularly for the Soviet Union, for the United States, war again yielded both upsurge and riches. The United States grew rich on the suffering, desolation, and blood of hundreds of millions of people; and it began to play the role of a good uncle helping his poor relations with regard to the impoverished and devastated Europe. Moreover, the United States came to the conclusion that, as the sole possessor of the atom bomb, it had the right to dictate its will. The close ties between military and industrial circles established conditions for an increasingly stronger influence on the determination of the U.S. domestic and foreign policy.

For almost an entire century, the minds of most Americans were being shaped to believe that America is the best, that the United States must have primacy in all things, that the American way of life is the best, but also that peace brings unemployment and uncertainty, whereas wars mean a boom and prosperity. If we add to this the fact that wars used to take place outside their territory, no wonder the firm conviction has been formed that America's geographical position creates for it conditions of invincibility.

If an aversion toward war, hatred of war, and the resolve never again to permit war to take place prevailed in Europe after World War II, this was not the case in the United States. On the contrary, the longing to achieve hegemony drove that country into dangerous new adventures; it started foisting its notions about a new arrangement of the world and a new way of life on others by force.

It unleashed a war in Korea and Vietnam, in the Near and Middle East, in Central America; and it is preparing to set up a world conflagration on the European Continent. It is trying with all its might to deny the objective logic of historical development. It is claiming the right to lead the world forward, simultaneously trying to realize the unrealizable -- to turn the wheel of history back. Without its aid, its dollars, and its army, the reactionary, fascist, semifascist, or feudal regimes would have ceased to exist long ago.

The United States has become the main exporter of counterrevolution. It justly deserves to be called the world gendarme. U.S. history is brief. But what a lot of violence, brutality, crimes, and genocide it contains, through the fault of imperialism!

The United States finds it impossible to reconcile itself to the fact that its nuclear monopoly has been broken and thus also the invincibility of its territory. It is unable to reconcile itself to the fact that it cannot succeed in halting the progress of socialism, despite enormous effort, provocations, coups d'etat, and crimes, and that the example and ideas of socialism are showing the peoples the path to true freedom and progress.

The Purpose of U.S. Policy Is To Destroy Communism

In order to acquire military-strategic supremacy over the Soviet Union, American imperialism has developed an armament round that is unprecedented in history. Since the end of World War II, the United States has spent \$6 billion [as received] for military purposes. At the same time there are millions of unemployed in the United States itself and, as it acknowledges, also 2 million beggars. The conference of peace forces in Vienna stated that 25 million Americans can neither read, nor write; 75 million Americans possess the knowledge of pupils in the fifth grade of elementary school. It is unbelievable that the richest state in the imperialist world has such a low standard of education. In comparison with the United States, can anyone imagine, and understand, that Czechoslovakia could have 1 million illiterate citizens? This, too, is the picture of imperialism, its opinion on freedom, democracy, and human rights.

At a time when hundreds of millions of people in the world are suffering hunger, when they lack the means for education and the most necessary medicine, when people even lack drinking water, the NATO states are spending \$1 billion daily on death, on killing people, on destroying irreplaceable values.

The United States and its NATO allies reject all the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states. The more cynical, aggressive, and irrational imperialism's policy becomes, the more the imperialists accuse the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community of not wanting to accept their ideas of peace and security. They, too, officially proclaim that they want peace. But the problem does not lie in their words, it lies in their contents and in actual deeds. The imperialist notion of peace is the death of the socialist countries, even at the cost of a dead Europe. The United States has not formally declared war on the Arab countries; it even plays the role of pseudo-mediator and peace protector in the Near East -- but in reality the whole world knows that Israel would be unable to perpetrate crimes and genocide on the Arab people without the all-round assistance and approval of the United States.

The same applies to the approach to the so-called zero option in resolving the issue of intermediate-range missiles. The purpose of the real zero option, as it is presented by the Soviet Union, is to destroy on the European Continent all intermediate-range nuclear arms and all operational-tactical nuclear arms. The Soviet Union proposes equality and equal security for all.

On the other hand, the zero option conceived by the United States is intended to mean the unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union; it is intended to include merely the ground-based intermediate-range missiles, not including the missiles of Great Britain and France which -- as nobody doubts -- not even the governments of the countries in question -- are targeted on the Soviet Union.

Everything proposed and prepared by Reagan and his film directors is intended -- as they themselves acknowledge -- to destroy communism.

In view of the ruling American Administration's pathological enmity for socialism -- which, it declares, must be destroyed as an error of history -- we must expect the current tense situation to be a long-term affair. We cannot harbor any illusions about any radical change in American policy. The factors that influence American policy are long-term factors, and they have deep roots. We must not forget above all the narrow class interests of the ruling team and the egotism of the United States, which considers good only what is beneficial for U.S. imperialism. It is trying to realize what Senator Barry Goldwater declared at one time: "We will send all mankind to the other world, rather than permit it to live under communism."

The United States is pursuing its aim harshly and mercilessly. By deploying intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, it is creating a platform not only against the Warsaw Pact countries, but also against the countries of the Near and Middle East, as well as against many African countries. At the same time, it is creating for itself the possibility of keeping its Western allies in bondage and ruthlessly foisting on them its gross, anticommunist, and anti-Soviet policy.

Risking the Fate Not Only of Europe

In order to realize its monstrous ideas, the United States is preparing conditions for a first nuclear strike against the Soviet Union and individual socialist countries. It is living in a kind of delusion that the first nuclear strike would give it a chance, as it claims, to win the limited nuclear war. It does not even conceal that it is attracted by the thought of the first nuclear strike. It is sufficient to recall the statement made by General Rogers, supreme commander of NATO's Armed Forces. Last December he attempted to explain how the United States "cannot renounce the possibility of being the first to use nuclear weapons," because, as he said, somebody could think that the United States does not want to defend Western Europe. This September, General Rogers again confirmed that "the NATO might be the first to use nuclear weapons against the Warsaw Pact." Reagan, too, counted on this possibility.

In Europe, Japan, and the United States itself, strong antiwar demonstrations are being held. The United States and most Western European governments ignore this. In the FRG, 75 percent of the population oppose the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles on their territory. However, the chief NATO commander declared that the missiles will be deployed, despite the West Europeans' protests. This was the motto of the Bundestag session yesterday and of the earlier session of the British Parliament. They did not respect the interests of their peoples and countries but complied with the will and commands of the Pentagon and approved the deployment of the missiles on their territories. The FRG Government has thus assumed enormous responsibility before history. The peoples of Europe cannot disregard the fact that the danger of war in Europe has increased and peace has become more fragile. With their decision of yesterday, they themselves cast doubt on all the promises and assurances that a new war conflagration will never again flare up from West German territory.

We appreciate all the more that the SPD has come to recognize that the deployment of American missiles on FRG territory conflicts with the interests of the peoples of the FRG and of all Europe, and at its congress it rejected the missile deployment.

By deploying the American Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe, the United States pursues at least two intentions -- to create conditions for carrying out a first nuclear strike, the risk of which it realizes, and so it also counts on its second plan, to gain superiority in nuclear missiles, which should enable it to enact a policy of pressure and blackmail as part of its endeavor to liquidate the revolutionary gains of the socialist countries.

It continues to believe in the so-called domino theory, that is, that the destabilization of the situation in one socialist country after the other would create a chain reaction that will bring about the disintegration of socialism.

Reagan's adviser Collins Crayn has written quite openly that "the USSR must reckon with the death of its state." His statement to the effect that the U.S. missiles would be deployed in Europe even if there were no Soviet SS-20 missiles contradicts all the arguments used in justifying that the United States must protect Western Europe from the Soviet threat. From the many muscle-flexing statements of responsible NATO officials, statements that a normal human being can scarcely understand, one gets the impression that they either do not know what they are talking about or that they have forgotten that we all live together on this planet.

Luns, NATO secretary general, behaves as though he cannot wait to see the day when Europe is destroyed. He expressed concern about the United States' readiness to risk a nuclear war to defend Western Europe "because I do not know what kind of a president there will be in the United States, whether he will not shrink back from it." Luns is afraid that the U.S. president may not have enough courage to push the button to destroy Europe. He and those like him live under the false illusion that they will survive all this.

The United States does not want an agreement on missiles. It wants only one thing -- to deploy new missiles in Europe at any price, be it only a few units. The main thing is that they get a foothold on the European Continent. Its presence at the Geneva talks is only a cover-up for deluding the European and world public. It stubbornly refuses all peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It suffices to recall at least some of them: the proposals included in the Political Declaration adopted at the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Prague on 5 January this year; the documents of the World Assembly for Life and Peace, Against Nuclear War; the statement of the highest representatives of the socialist countries of 28 June 1983 in Moscow; and the specific and businesslike proposals put forward by Comrade Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I repeat: They either reject all these proposals or they pretend to be studying them. However, there have been no replies to these proposals from the United States or its allies.

Why? This has been expressed very clearly by Eugene Rostow, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in an interview for STERN magazine. "Should an agreement be concluded, such a peace euphoria would break out that Congress would not approve money for armament." Reagan has even set up a group of experts. But their task is not to study the Soviet peace proposals but to combat the Soviet peace offensive. Such is the truth and reality about who wants peace and who poses a threat to it.

The Czechoslovak People Understand the Necessity of Countermeasures

Comrades, despite the enormous endeavor of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, and the antiwar and peace movement, the American intermediate-range nuclear missiles will be deployed in Western Europe. The first Pershing II missiles are to arrive in the FRG in the next few days. They are playing with words in order to deceive the people. FRG Chancellor Kohl is trying to justify it by saying that deployment does not mean employment. He deliberately conceals the fact that the employment will not be decided by the Bundestag but by the United States, without its consent. We cannot take lightly what is being prepared. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the Czechoslovak Government, aware of their responsibility for the peaceful and calm life of the Czechoslovak people, cannot stand by and idly watch what is taking place west of our borders, and they had to adopt pertinent measures.

In the light of the real danger created by the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the CS R Government, together with the USSR Council of Ministers, decided to start preparatory work on the development of operative-tactical missile complexes. We wish to inform the Central Committee that our party and the Czechoslovak people have received this decision, which is in the interest of the security of our homeland and the socialist community, with understanding and deliberation [rozvazne].

However, this should not make us carefree, self-satisfied, and convinced that everybody without exception has grasped the inevitability of this decision. There will be a sufficient number of attempts by the West and there will also be some of their flunkies in our country who will try to spread alarming news, disinformation, and various forms of intimidation and provocations. Every lie will come in handy to them. Let us not be surprised when the following demagoguery appears: You see, they mobilized us to join the struggle against the deployment of missiles in Western Europe and now they are deploying them themselves.

They will continue to distort and conceal the truth that the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries put forward a number of proposals aimed at the reduction of military forces, at complete disarmament, at the destruction of nuclear arms, abolition of military blocs, the signing of a treaty on renouncing the use of military force, and many other proposals. The United States and its allies in NATO have not even bothered to reply to these proposals. On the contrary, they have decided to develop new weapons systems, new missiles, and to spread the danger of war to outer space. We have declared on many occasions that we are against the deployment of Pershings and cruise missiles because these are first-strike weapons, and if the United States deploys them we shall have no choice but to take the respective countermeasures. The imperialist threat makes us take this step.

We are not in the role of someone who is getting ready to commit a theft but in the role of a man who is installing a lock on his door to protect himself against a thief. An old wisdom instructs us that when wolves appear near the fold, the clever shepherd must see that he gets good and strong guards. The better we inform the people about the truth concerning the unavoidability of the adopted decisions, the stronger our country and its security and defense will be.

In the interest of the preservation of peace, as Comrade Husak stressed at the 16th congress, we shall do everything in our power, in close cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, to strengthen the security of the socialist community and to prevent the imperialist aggressive forces from changing the current military-strategic balance. The words of Lenin have lost none of their relevance that "we have declared more than once that we strive for peace, that we need peace..., but we will not allow anyone to throttle us in the name of peace."

Firmly Wielding the Torch of Truth

Esteemed comrades: The guarantee of the security of the socialist community as a whole and its individual countries is not based only on the quantity and quality of weapons, but also on the strength of their economies, their unity, and their social commitment based on a high degree of political-ideological firmness. The situation that has arisen is such that the very future and existence of mankind depend to a considerable degree on the effectiveness of ideological struggle.

The aggressiveness of imperialist propaganda is aimed at weakening the fundamental values of the socialist community. The last traces of culture, decency, and objectivity have gradually disappeared from it. At the same time, we have to remember that the present anticommunist vocabulary is not the work of some hacks writing for the tabloid press but the work of highly-placed representatives of the imperialist states.

Their propaganda is dominated by hatred, lies, vulgarity, and misinformation. Psychological warfare against the socialist countries and the national liberation, peace, and antiwar movements has reached unprecedented dimensions. This is part and parcel of the preparations for a nuclear war. Bourgeois propaganda ceased to serve national interests long ago. It is run by supranational monopolies, American intelligence services, and anticommunist centers and serves the most reactionary forces of American imperialism.

The present time places great demands on mass-political work and on every Communist. It is necessary to explain, very flexibly and in clear and comprehensible language, the policy of our party and the role and place of our socialist state in this difficult struggle for peace and socialism. Our propaganda and agitation must never forget their duty to defend, explain, and daily repeat our basic truth that only socialism liberates man and ensures democracy and true human rights for him, that only socialism is capable of creating prerequisites for the elimination of wars from the life of mankind. It is necessary to recall every day that in this struggle history has entrusted a difficult but noble task to the CPSU, the Soviet state, and the heroic Soviet people. They carry the greatest burden in preserving the very existence of human civilization. Under the leadership of their Leninist party, the Soviet people are honorably and selflessly living up to this historical mission.

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the birth of the first socialist state -- the USSR -- the ideas of Marxism-Leninism became the triumph of the 20th century. No one will ever be able to extinguish this torch of truth, progress, humanism, and fraternity of all nations. To claim that communism is an error of history is just as absurd as to deny the existence of gravity. There are many examples in history showing that not everything that we revere now was revered when it first emerged. In the feudal and bourgeois societies, the very words communism or socialist called forth panic and horror. Communists were the target of hatred; kings, emperors, and popes outlawed, denounced, and condemned their activity. Despite the defeat of the Paris Commune and of the Russian Revolution of 1905, despite the drowning of many strikes and uprisings in blood, they could not throttle the influence of the revolutionary ideas on the development of the world.

They mobilized everything at their disposal to combat the Great October Socialist Revolution and Soviet power. But they could not stop the clock of history. The Soviet people have overcome all wrongs, intrigues, an intervention, and a blockade, and they triumphed over fascism. Under the impact of the ideas of Great October, the world socialist community came into being and the colonial rule of capitalism disintegrated. The deeds that have been accomplished, and are accomplished daily, by the Soviet people under the leadership of their Leninist party are still alive. As years go by, their heroism does not wane but is growing and assuming new qualities. A new world is being formed that does not only change the map of our planet but also the course of world history -- from slavery to the real freedom of man who can develop all his creative potential and talents. And this requires peace.

It would be untrue if we believed that this irreplaceable role of the Soviet Union in this historical struggle is understood by everyone. Just like anywhere else, in our country, too, there are groups that suppress and twist the truth about the role of the Soviet Union and help to disseminate lies -- as if the course of events in international relations were determined by rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States and as if other countries were merely drawn into this dangerous maelstrom. That is why, so they say, it would be better to remain aside.

Imperialism is very tenaciously nourishing and assisting such tendencies. It is demagogically trying to divide even us in the socialist community into good ones and evil ones.

All the greater is the need to broadly explain that this is not just some sort of a clash between two superpowers but a historical struggle between two antagonistic social systems -- socialism and capitalism.

We must see to it that as many people as possible, the young generation in particular, correctly understand the processes going on in the contemporary world, that they understand the true meaning and contents of various declarations and political terminology, that they know who talks, and in whose interest, and, finally, that they know which class is served by this.

Crimes Under the Cloak of Alleged Democracy and Human Rights

The most reactionary representatives of imperialism like to demagogically use words such as peace, freedom, democracy, or human rights. Even Hitler preached security and protection of national interests and the fascist party with its monstrous policy was presented as national socialism. Chamberlain claimed that the Czechoslovak Republic must be sacrificed, allegedly in the interest of peace. Hitlerite Germany occupied almost the whole of Europe. According to its assurances, this was in the interest of its security.

Historians have estimated that in the 200 years of its existence, the United States has unleashed some 200 wars, all of which were also waged under the pretext of defending U.S. security. Today it is launching attacks on Cuba and Nicaragua and organizing coups d'etat and supporting fascist dictatorships in Latin America, all in the name of democracy and human rights. Reagan has arrogantly declared that "the United States is a country that has responsibility for the whole world." He demonstrated his notion of this responsibility when his soldiers invaded small Grenada -- allegedly to protect a handful of Americans who were not threatened by anyone -- and when he had them kill Grenadian patriots, women, and children under this pretext.

Millions of Americans do not even know where Grenada is and what kind of a state, in fact, the United States defeated. The aim of U.S. policy was to liquidate and defeat, be it only a state of 100,000 that had the courage to set out on a progressive path of development. It is downright incomprehensible that, by doing this, Reagan has even earned popularity in the United States, though only temporarily, as a very strong President. Neither can we underestimate the fact that Reagan wants to intimidate El Salvador, Nicaragua, and other fighters for national and social liberation and create the atmosphere that they are delivered up to the mercies of the United States. The example of Grenada shows at the same time how the United States would act in Europe if it achieved military supremacy.

When Reagan says that the realm of evil -- the Soviet Union and communism -- must be destroyed, we must not understand it as a mere turn of phrase but as a military-political and strategic goal. He forces the entire capitalist world to subordinate everything to this goal -- its policy, economy, diplomacy, ideology, and military doctrines. It is not the first time that this is being done. Imperialism set itself similar goals from the first day of the existence of the Soviet Union. The exponents of these plans have disappeared through the trapdoor of history while socialism and communism are forging their way ahead. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are documenting their strength and invincibility.

Many political and military statements by responsible representatives of the United States elicit doubt as to their knowledge of geography and history. It is becoming increasingly clear that the helm in the United States is in the hands of forces whose rabid hatred for progress and socialism makes them blind, clouds their senses, and makes sober thinking impossible. Their philosophy is simple.

According to them, the world is divided into two parts: the good part, that is, everything American and those who want to serve them; and everything socialist and progressive, which must be destroyed. There is a great danger emanating from this simplified and unrealistic view.

There are also people who would like to discredit and review the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, and thus justify the revanchist plans to change the existing situation in Europe, including the legally valid settlement of territorial issues. The demand that it is necessary to support those who reject that which was imposed upon defeated Germany by the victorious powers in 1945 also affects the life of our republic and our people. They would like to comfort us and make us ignore revanchism. Allegedly, such phenomena are only peripheral. But we know that it would be shortsighted to underestimate this danger. In his reply to a letter from Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, West German Chancellor Kohl said, among other things: "Peace in Europe will be only safe to the degree to which we will succeed in eliminating the consequences of the partition of Germany and in overcoming the partition."

However, people cannot forget who it was that partitioned Germany or Korea, who it was that by means of brute force, blood, and chemical weapons strove to partition and humiliate Vietnam. They cannot forget who it is that partitions Africa and maintains hotbeds of tension all over the world. They cannot forget who it was that instigated cold war and for what purpose NATO and other anti-Soviet and antisocialist organizations were founded.

It was the Western great powers who refused to cooperate and who broke the alliance that had come into being in the anti-Hitler coalition during World War II. During the war, they could not deny the heroism and selflessness of the Soviet people. But after the war they made a great effort to distort the history of this war and to weaken the world's admiration for the Soviet Union, which carried the brunt of the fight against fascism.

Now, when the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan is approaching, the bourgeoisie finances entire teams of various experts and scientific institutions to distort the truth about World War II and the role of the Soviet Union in it. It suffices to visit any museum in the West to find out how everything connected with the causes of the war and with the truth about the Soviet Union and its heroic Army has been erased.

Many American and West European politicians like to use the bogey that the Soviet Union, through its peace policy, wants to break the unity of the Atlantic Alliance. Kohl, in particular, repeatedly used this bogey yesterday and the day before yesterday. The view that there are all kinds of differences even among the governments of capitalist countries is true. However, this is not caused by the socialist countries but it is intrinsic to the very nature of imperialism and its laws of the jungle. Grab as much as you can -- such is their ethics.

The United States is solving its deepening difficulties at the expense of its allies. It weakens them economically through supranational monopolies, high interest rates, and the dollar. At the same time, it increasingly restricts their independence and subordinates them to its political interests. A merciless trade war is in the offing, the end and repercussions of which are difficult to predict. This naturally embitters U.S. allies. The United States is trying to overcome the differences, which surface even at various summit meetings, by using the "threat from Moscow" and the "specter of communism." Their enmity of socialism unites the imperialists.

We Rely on the Invincible Ideas of Marxism-Leninism

Esteemed comrades, it is a life-tested truth that man does not live by bread alone. The struggle for the minds of the people has been waged since time immemorial. Some have endeavored to find the truth, others to obliterate it. Immense resources are being spent on this in the world. Even the poorest developing countries do not economize in this sphere. Of course, the tasks of the national economic plan, which we are to approve, are demanding, and they will require the daily care of the party, trade unions, the federal and national governments, individual ministries, national committees, and the entire structure of management. But in doing this we must not forget for even a short while that man and his awareness are the decisive factor -- his active and responsible attitude toward his place of work, his family, his community, and his homeland.

The psychological warfare being waged against us is of a specific nature. Its edge is aimed precisely at blunting our vigilance, determination, activity, and ideological firmness. It avails itself of an entire army of ideologues, journalists, scientists, sociologists, psychologists, disinformation experts, and, above all, of vast financial and material means. Metaphorically speaking, it is being waged by means of various systems, with light and heavy weapons of both intermediate and intercontinental range.

At the moment, the correct and vitally important principle that the military-strategic balance must not be upset has been laid down in the military sphere. In the fight for the hearts and the minds of the people and in explaining and spreading the truth about our policy, we are, unfortunately, lagging behind our adversaries as regards the equipment of our material-technical base which must paralyze ideological subversion. Hostile radio transmitters broadcast 37 hours a day in the Czech and Slovak languages. TV signals from the West cover a sizeable part of our territory. Additional millions of dollars have been earmarked to build still more powerful radio and television systems. Through them, streams of disinformation are poured out every day, lies are presented as truths, cynicism as humanism, amorality as a virtue, opposition as freedom, and diktat as democracy. What is our potential and ability to face up to these insidious and ever stronger attacks of the enemy? What do we rely on in this struggle?

It is the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the truth of communism. These ideas and truths express the fundamental aspirations and interests of the working man, they represent the source of our party's unity and ability to act, the cohesion of the party and the people, and the unity of our nations and nationalities. On these foundations also rests the indivisible alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. Through their humanitarian and profoundly democratic nature, these ideas and truths also unite us with progressive and peace-loving forces all over the world.

It has been said more than once in the Central Committee that our material-technical base -- television, radio, and the print media -- is incomparably weaker than the base at the disposal of our adversaries. We know that we will not finally resolve this in the annual or the 5-year plan. However, we must not underestimate these issues and shift them aside, to the periphery of our needs. The ideological struggle will not grow any weaker, even if the present exacerbated international situation should be alleviated.

To be able to reach the broad public with our truth and to carry out the ideological offensive and counterpropaganda, we need still more effective means. Metaphorically speaking, even if we were outstanding artillerymen, we would have little success if we fired guns at missiles.

Today it is no longer enough that our people are informed about socialism, about world developments, and about the historical role of the Soviet Union and the socialist community; what the world knows about us and about socialism is also important.

We must assume that the deployment of American missiles in Europe will aggravate the situation in an unprecedented manner. It must also be taken into consideration that in the antiwar movement in the West European countries, it may appear to some that the struggle has been lost and that they could succumb to hopelessness, skepticism, and fatalism. What matters is that we show in our propaganda even more comprehensively and actively that the struggle has not been futile, that it will be carried on under different circumstances, that it must be multiplied, and that the antiwar movement has been and will continue to be a great force against missiles ever being used.

Esteemed comrades: In the struggle for peace, against the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, and against their use, an important role is played by the international communist and workers movement. Communist parties represent the best organized, most cohesive political force capable of defending the class interests of the proletariat and other working people on both the national and international scales. At the same time, we do not pretend that there are no divergent approaches in the stances of some communist and workers parties on certain questions.

We do not stir up and do not wish to stir up any public discussions -- this is not the main thing at present -- but we try to act in a united way on the fundamental problems of today, in the struggle for peace and for averting war, so as to win further broad strata of the people for the antiwar movement. Through its principled Marxist-Leninist approaches and its consistent struggle to build socialism, ease international relations, and avert feverish armament, the CPCZ has earned respect and authority in the international communist and workers movement. It fruitfully and successfully cooperates with the overwhelming majority of communist and workers parties. It develops cooperation with many socialist and social democratic parties.

Our Plans Follow the Course of Peace

The peace-loving and antiwar forces that attended the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War were able to find out on the spot that the CSSR is a worthy fighter for peace and cooperation and that it sides with everyone who is against oppression, unemployment, and for freedom and peace. Thus we consistently act, and will continue to act, in the spirit of the policy of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Esteemed comrades: The current international situation requires that we consolidate the unity of the countries of the socialist community in the political, economic, and military sphere. Despite the danger of war threatening mankind and thanks to the great endeavors of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, and all anti-imperialist forces, including those bourgeois politicians who think realistically, we live and work in peace. Our efforts are aimed at creating and multiplying the wealth of our country for a happy and peaceful life of the present and future generations. In only 17 years mankind will cross the threshold of another century and enter the third millenium. For the people of this, our beautiful planet, which is adorned with the genius of man, this could prove to be a happy and fateful step. "We all live on this planet," Comrade Husak said at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, "which has for thousands of years been tilled and cultivated by man's industrious hands and which is capable of giving bread and happiness to all people. It must be saved from the imminent threat of catastrophe."

The fact that we openly speak about the very dangerous situation in the world today does not mean that we succumb to some sort of uncertainty or pessimism. On the contrary, we are, and have reason to be, optimistic. Life will continue. We believe that there are sufficient forces and enough common sense for peace to be preserved. It is our duty to make as great a contribution as possible to this.

All our efforts and our plans follow the course of peace. These plans cannot be fulfilled with our hands folded or by sitting in some sheltered little corner. Party, trade union, and youth organizations and bodies, national committees, and the entire National Front must work in such a way that everyone understands the seriousness of the time and the fact that it is his sacred duty to work and live so that shortcomings weakening socialism and the strength of our republic disappear from our society and our life.

We cannot afford to tolerate slipshod work, parasitism, scheming, profiteering at the expense of society, or soulless pragmatism. We are not idealists, dreamers, or people believing in the strength of passive faith. We believe in the vast creative powers of the people, in their abilities and talents. These powers alone can help us fulfill even our most demanding plans, they can help us move mountains.

We must say quite frankly that the defense and security of the republic demand, and will demand, considerable material resources. Our people have already demonstrated their ardent patriotism. There is no doubt that this time, again, they will not hesitate to put forth the efforts and means required for the defense of their homeland and for a happy life of the future generations. No one wants, or asks for, anything impossible.

The point is to have the CSSR's resources sensibly utilized so as to achieve a greater growth of the national income and the national wealth.

This requires the utilization of the entire production and scientific-technical potential of our country. Only through dedicated, conscientious, and well-organized work can we create values on the basis of which it will be possible to cover the increased defense expenditures while at the same time ensuring the material and cultural standards of the people. The principle that as we work, so shall we live is valid more than ever before. The same is true of Gottwald's "build the country, you will strengthen peace."

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium is convinced that the Central Committee will approve the course and the decisions which the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government adopted in implementing the line of the 16th congress in the foreign-political sphere.

It is a continuation of the policy of peace, the policy of strengthening the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. This policy stems from the innermost interests of the Czechoslovak people and their future and security. It is a policy of socialist patriotism and internationalism.

It is as clear as daylight that the countries of the socialist community cannot stand idly by and watch this. At the threshold of their joint house, the United States is making first-strike weapons ready for combat deployment.

It follows quite clearly from the exceedingly important and extremely urgent declaration of Comrade Yuriy Andropov, which we published yesterday, that the Soviet Union will on no account allow the American imperialists to fall into the temptation to launch a sudden nuclear attack on the socialist countries.

This was stressed with equal clarity by the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, which on 23 and 24 November discussed the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the current international situation.

The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other Warsaw Pact countries jointly declare that the United States and NATO must not be allowed to upset the existing approximate military-strategic balance of forces. Because the deployment of the Pershing II ballistic missiles and the cruise missiles will objectively result precisely in upsetting this balance, the Warsaw Pact countries must undertake without delay the necessary defensive measures. One of them follows from the agreement between the Governments of the USSR, the CSSR, and the GDR concerning the beginning of preparatory work for the deployment of defensive missiles. The missiles concerned are of an operational-tactical nature with increased range. The CPCZ Central Committee has now fully endorsed the declaration of the CSSR Government and the statement of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium of 24 October 1983 concerning the agreement between the CSSR Government and the USSR Council of Ministers on urgent measures for reinforcing defense. Now -- under the pressure of new circumstances -- the three governments have agreed to accelerate the preparatory work. Time does not wait, and any delay could gravely damage our defense.

The adventurers from the NATO camp must not be given any chance to attack us with impunity. That is why the Soviet Union is adopting other measures as well. In view of the fact that by deploying its missiles in Europe, the United States is also increasing the nuclear threat for the Soviet Union, corresponding Soviet devices will be deployed in the oceans and seas. In terms of their characteristics, these Soviet nuclear missiles will be commensurate with the threat that the American missiles in Western Europe represent for the Soviet Union and its allies.

The communist parties of the socialist countries attach constant, paramount importance to the problem of ensuring peace, the most vital interest of the working people. That is why the party of V.I. Lenin, the CPSU, wages such an energetic and tenacious struggle for peace, for averting the threat of a nuclear war. Also the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, just as the entire activity of our party, was imbued with a spontaneous interest in preserving peace. Our homeland can thrive and our socialist society further successfully develop only under conditions of peace, in an atmosphere of security, certainty, and creative peaceful work.

That is why the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium delivered by Comrade Vasil Bilak at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session so urgently and emphatically drew attention to the sources of danger, to their causes, and to the need to resist this danger with all forces and adequate means. The report illuminates the most important aspects of the current struggle, which reflects the historical battle between the antagonistic social systems -- capitalism and socialism. It also reflects lessons from our turbulent history. We remember very well how the amassing of weapons on the territory of our immediate western neighbor prior to World War II ended.

Current international developments do not allow us to be carefree. Offensive weapons are again being amassed to the west of our borders. When our joint house is threatened, we cannot stand naively by with our arms folded. On the contrary, everyone must put his shoulder to the wheel to avert the danger -- all the more so as it is no longer the destruction of the house alone that is at stake but the very survival of our nations. That is why the appeal with which the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session has now turned to the party and all our people is so urgent.

Many people in our country have grown used to regarding the calm life in peace as a matter of course. The notion that Europe could become the scene of a nuclear conflagration is for many of them incredible. After all, detente benefited all nations and justified hopes for progress in developing cooperation, understanding, and also in disarmament issues. However, we must not forget that the 38 years of peace in Europe have not been a gift from heaven or from America but the result of a tenacious struggle to preserve it. This relatively long period of peace has been dependent on the correlation of forces between groups of states with different social systems, on the breaking of the U.S. nuclear arms monopoly, on military balance. The hands of American generals on the button of nuclear weapons have been contained by the counterbalance of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries. That is why the aggressive circles of American imperialism were not able to use nuclear weapons either in Korea, or against China or Vietnam, as they threatened. In other ways too they were unable to implement their plans to "roll back communism."

The actions of the present U.S. Administration indicate that the "crusade" against socialism that U.S. President Reagan announced in the British Parliament last June is not a mere act of innocuous rhetoric and empty theorizing. This was demonstrated by the invasion of American troops on tiny Grenada, whose anti-imperialist regime was a thorn in Washington's side, a few weeks ago. The socialist countries, too, are a thorn in the side of American imperialism. What kind of action does the Pentagon intend to take against them?

For the time being, the Pentagon staffs are studying the variants of "potential wars" -- regional wars, local wars, space wars, lethal-ray wars, and electronic wars. These doctrines and plans are very specifically reflected in the development of new systems of nuclear missiles, anti-missile laser weapons, and in the modernization of U.S. nuclear arsenals. The war preparations of the United States have now assumed a new dangerous quality, in the form of the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe -- in the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy. One missile base is to be built 180 km from the Czechoslovak border.

The most reactionary circles of the U.S. military-industrial complex, which possesses real power in the United States, found in Ronald Reagan a suitable representative for the White House, just as -- some time ago -- big German militarist capital found in Adolf Hitler a suitable demagogue for its aims. They bank openly on the use of military force. The directive drawn up by the U.S. Defense Department for the years 1984 and 1985 lays down the "destruction of socialism as a social system" quite officially as the goal of military policy. President Reagan even pathetically expressed his aspiration to "consign communism to the dustbin of history."

The ruling circles of American imperialism would like to solve the ideological antagonisms of the two different social systems by means of military force because they have convinced themselves that socialism cannot be rolled back and liquidated either in the field of ideology or in the economic sphere.

It cannot be weakened by means of embargoes, sanctions, discrimination, or blackmail.

Under the pretext of the ideological incompatibility of capitalism and socialism, the present U.S. Administration sabotages every possibility of a dialogue or agreement between the United States and the USSR. It refuses to recognize agreements signed legally by former American Presidents, such as SALT II. As far as the Geneva talks on limiting nuclear arms in Europe are concerned, the U.S. Administration first diverted them into a blind alley and now, by deploying its missiles in Western Europe, has made them completely impossible.

The United States has not accepted a single constructive peace initiative of the Soviet Union. It did not respect the Soviet commitment not to be the first to use nuclear arms and did not accept the draft agreement on renouncing the use of military force in outer space and from space against the Earth. Neither did it take up the agreement on freezing nuclear arsenals. As is known, some time ago the USSR made a goodwill gesture and unilaterally froze the deployment of its intermediate-range nuclear devices in the European part of the USSR. The United States refused to follow even that example. Now, when the United States has begun to deploy its intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe, the Soviet Union must thus cancel its moratorium.

Particularly dangerous are the speculations that the United States could be victorious in a blitz nuclear war, in which American first-strike missiles would eliminate vitally important strategic and command centers in the Warsaw Pact countries and then establish an "American peace". They speculate that the territory of the United States, which is divided by oceans from other continents, would be spared destruction, as in previous world wars. The propagation of the theory that a local nuclear war -- self-evidently outside of the United States -- is possible and can be waged without being punished by retaliation is designed to make the criminal plans concerning this so-called limited war acceptable to the American people.

In the conservative reactionary circles of major European NATO countries, the United States has found allies for this hazardous policy. The rightwing majority of the West German Bundestag, too, has now expressed itself in favor of the American hazard. After this fatefully unpropitious decision in Bonn, the danger of a nuclear conflict on the European Continent has even increased. Although many leading FRG politicians vowed more than once that they will do everything possible to make sure that a war never again flares up from German soil, the FRG is now becoming a forward-based launching pad for American first-strike missiles, from which a nuclear conflagration could flare up.

Czechoslovakia has proved that it is interested in good-neighborly relations with the FRG. These relations have been developing in a bilaterally beneficial way, in the spirit of the Treaty on Mutual Relations of 1973. However, how will it be possible to further develop these relations in an atmosphere of menace, in the shadow of new American missiles?

The socialist countries have many times stretched out their hand to the NATO countries offering agreement, offering measures reinforcing mutual trust and, above all, security on our continent. This was also the motto of the appeal of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee, adopted at its Prague session this January. The socialist countries have warned many times that they cannot allow NATO to gain military supremacy over them, that they cannot allow NATO to toy with the idea of launching a military attack on the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

Neither the initiatives, nor the manifestations of good will and warnings have been taken into account. That is why the socialist countries must now take steps toward adequate defense measures.

However, as Comrade Yuriy Andropov noted in his statement, should the United States and other NATO countries be willing to return to the state of affairs that existed prior to the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, the other side will be willing to do the same.

Through their creative work and dedication to the cause of socialism, the Czechoslovak people have built a just society and have made their homeland a stable, thriving state. They want to continue to live and work in peace in this state, they want to develop their country and make it prosper for the benefit of their own and future generations. That is why peace and its defense are our most vital interest. We must on no account allow that all that which has been built through work heroism and everyday creative work, and which involved many sacrifices, is consumed in a nuclear fire.

As Comrade Husak said in his closing speech at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, we must patiently, truthfully, and convincingly explain to our fellow citizens the causes of the exacerbated current international situation and the necessity of reinforcing our defense capability and seeking steady consolidation of the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which guarantees the preservation of peaceful conditions for the life and work of our people.

At numerous mass rallies and in many collective and individual statements denouncing the American war preparations and militaristic provocations in Western Europe and other parts of the world, our people have emphatically manifested their determination to contribute as much as possible to averting a nuclear war.

The resolution of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session stressed: "The stronger and the more united our homeland and the entire socialist community is, the firmer and clearer will be the prospect of peace and the more realistic will be the hopes for averting the threat of a nuclear war. Everything that is necessary to protect life in peace must be done. War is not fateful and unavoidable. Peace must be defended."

All true advocates of peace firmly trust that peace will be successfully defended. The struggle for averting a nuclear catastrophe in Europe has not ended but is entering a new, even more intensive stage.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES DISCUSS DEFENSE BUDGET

AU220850 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Nov 83 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- The paramilitary and security committees of the Chambers of the People and of Nations of the CSSR's Federal Assembly convened in Prague for a joint session. They dealt with the draft budgets of the Federal Ministry of National Defense and the Federal Ministry of Interior for 1984. The expose on the draft budgets was delivered by Army General Martin Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense, and by Colonel Pavol Vano, deputy federal minister of interior. Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of interior, briefed the deputies on the work done by the National Security Corps in fighting criminal activity. The committees then dealt with the draft law on arms and ammunition. At the conclusion of the session, the committees assessed the draft of the work plan for 1984.

The 2-day joint session of the foreign committees of the Chamber of the People and of Nations of the CSSR's Federal Assembly was opened yesterday in Prague. Among other things the deputies were acquainted with the declaration issued by the National Assembly of People's Power of the Republic of Cuba addressed to the parliaments and deputies of the world who condemn the military invasion of Grenada by the North American armed forces. In an adopted resolution they fully agreed with the principled appraisal contained in the declaration; they support the demand for the withdrawal of U.S. occupation troops, and they express full solidarity with the heroic people of Grenada. Radoslav Klein, CPCZ Central Committee deputy department head, briefed the deputies on the current battle against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, as well as on the state and prospects of the main talks on armament limitation. He recalled that at the Geneva negotiations the Soviet Union had submitted so many concrete proposals on disarmament that, had the United States really wished to negotiate, it would have had to agree to them. For instance, the latest disarmament proposals this November reached down to the lowest possible limit which the Soviet Union cannot overstep and still preserve the security of the socialist community and the balance of forces. Radoslav Klein also replied to the deputies' questions on certain other topical international problems.

BILAK CHAIRS IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION SESSION

LD222346 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 22 Nov 83

[Text] Chaired by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Ideological Commission of the CPCZ Central Committee held a session in Prague today.

Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered a report on the experiences of a party Central Committee study delegation tour in the USSR in the sphere of ideological work of the CPSU.

The Ideological Commission also discussed the experiences of the party organs and organizations in increasing the efficiency of party education in the spirit of the conclusions of the 16th party congress. Present at the commission's deliberations were Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Ludovit Pezlar, Presidium member and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Matej Lucan, deputy federal premier; Vasil Bejda, Otto Cmolik and Miroslav Muller, heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments; and other leading ideological activists.

JAKES SPEAKS AT CSSR-USSR FRIENDSHIP MEETING

LD281853 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 38 Nov 83

[Text] The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association concerned itself today in Prague with the deepening of its part played in the accelerated application of scientific and technological results in practice. In his speech, Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, commended the work of the association to date in the propagation of Soviet scientific and technological results and its practical realization. He emphasized the importance of quicker implementation of scientific and technical developments in order to ensure intensification of production, the growth of productivity, and in keeping and improving the standard of living.

The adopted resolution of the plenary session contains among other things the requirement to combine the popularization of the newest Soviet scientific and technological findings with the teaching of the Russian language, to increase the quality of the work of the association's sections for the promotion of Soviet progressive methods, and to

deepen cooperation between the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association with social, state, and economic organizations. In a peace resolution, the delegates expressed their unqualified support for the principled peace efforts of the Soviet Union, which represent security, the preservation of peace, and the hope that a nuclear catastrophe will be averted. They emphasized that in a strong union with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, they will do everything to strengthen security and the defense capability of our countries, for the preservation of peace in Europe and the whole world.

HAMAN SEES OFF BENO-LED DELEGATION TO USSR

LD281238 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] At the invitation of the [CPSU] Central Committee, a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee led by Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left for Moscow today for a working visit. Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the Party Central Committee, saw the delegation off at the airport.

Gerle-Led Delegation

LD281953 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation left Prague by air for Moscow today to attend the 6th session of envoys of the Governments of Czechoslovakia and USSR for implementing the program of cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of the development of nuclear power in Czechoslovakia up to 1990. The delegation is headed by Ladislav Gerle, deputy federal premier.

POTAC LEAVES FOR GDR TALKS WITH WEISS

LD281232 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Svatopluk Potac, deputy premier of the Federal Government and chairman of the State Planning Commission, has left for a working meeting with Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. As chairmen of the Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation between both countries, they will examine the course and results of economic cooperation this year and discuss preparations for the 26th session of the joint committee.

COLOTKA LEAVES FOR 'SHORT' VISIT TO FRG

LD281951 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Peter Colotka, deputy federal premier and Slovak premier, left Prague by air today for a short visit to the FRG. The visit is taking place at the invitation of Hans Koschnick, the Bremen Senat president.

U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION VISIT 28 NOV

Met by Beil

LD282006 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1628 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 28 Nov (ADN) -- Today in Berlin Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers and secretary of state, met Sam M. Gibbons, chairman of the commerce subcommittee of the Finance Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives and other congressmen in a delegation Gibbons heads for an exchange of opinions. In the talk, Dr Beil stressed that economic relations between states with differing social systems promote the peaceful coexistence of peoples. Economic embargoes and boycott measures are not compatible with mutually advantageous cooperation.

Gerhard Beil referred to the statements by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, during his visit to a stand representing a U.S. firm at the 1983 Leipzig autumn fair: The GDR is prepared to promote trade with the United States, despite existing difficulties, in accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

U.S. Ambassador to the GDR Rozanne L. Ridgway attended the talk.

Received by Fischer

LD282127 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1831 GMT 21 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 28 Nov (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today received a U.S. Congressional delegation headed by Sam M. Gibbons, chairman of the subcommittee for trade of the House of Representatives' Budget Committee. The delegation includes James R. Jones, Barber B. Conable Jr., Bill Frenzel, and Douglas K. Bereuter.

During the meeting, Oskar Fischer pointed out that the stationing of U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe would create a fundamentally new and dangerous situation. Increased efforts must be made to counter it. The GDR is in favor of a broad coalition of reason, which would clear the way for peaceful coexistence, detente, and disarmament.

There is no acceptable alternative to the policy of security peace, the minister said. The GDR supports normal relations with the United States in this respect on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual benefit.

U.S. Envoy Gives Reception

LD282244 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] U.S. Ambassador to the GDR Rozanne Ridgway gave a reception in Berlin this evening for members of a U.S. Congressional delegation headed by Sam Gibbons, chairman of the subcommittee for trade of the House of Representatives' Budget Committee. Guests at the reception were SED Central Committee Politburo members Horst Sindermann and Guenter Mittag, member of the Council of Ministers and State Secretary Dr Gerhard Beil, and other dignitaries. During the day, State Secretary Biel and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer held separate talks with the U.S. representatives in which they discussed economic relations between the two countries. The GDR politicians criticized, in this respect, economic embargoes and boycott measures, as they are incompatible with mutually advantageous cooperation.

VERNER SPEAKS ON PARTY TASKS, MISSILES

LD282314 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] The SED, in the words of Paul Verner, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, is a party of revolutionary action which, more unified and coherent than ever, is solving two strategic tasks at the same time. These are the realization of the main task in its economic and social policy unity and the securing of peace. At today's delegate conference of the SED Party organization in the Thurm electric motor plant (Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk), Paul Verner affirmed the resolve of the party of the working class to continue to consistently realize the economic strategy together with all workers. This is why the seventh Central Committee meeting stressed the need to secure a high level of economic development by the intensive expansion of production based on what had been achieved and despite the escalated international situation.

With the start of Pershing II and cruise missile deployment in Western Europe a new dangerous situation has been created in which the USSR and other socialist states have to take countermeasures in order to maintain the military and strategic balance and to counter the danger of war.

NAUMANN DISCUSSES MISSILES AT SED PLENUM

AU281255 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Nov 83 p 7

["From" the speech of SED Politburo member Konrad Naumann, first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, at the seventh session of the SED Central Committee on 24 November]

[Excerpt] To solve the tasks set for 1984 by the seventh session of the Central Committee, let us make ideological work even more effective to ensure that actions are more and more motivated by civic responsibility, that socialism is further strengthened, and that the threatened peace will be defended.

Missile Decision Does Not Make Peace More Secure

The action of the FRG Government, the submissive and antinational decision by its yes-men that it whipped through in the Bundestag under extremely strong police protection, has of course by no means made peace more secure for the people but, on the contrary, has increased the danger of nuclear war.

Against the declared will of the majority of FRG citizens, the West German Bundestag has made a fateful decision at a crucial point of the controversy between the two world powers, the decision to have U.S. first-strike weapons combat-ready by the end of 1983 on German soil -- far away from America.

With "Atlantic" faithfulness until death the nuclear chancellor has failed to do anything, anything at all, to represent German interests in a more principled way. How can an FRG chancellor now still credibly talk about "doing everything to ensure that never again will a war emanate from German soil?" He is merely talking about things about which no one could ask him in the event of a war. He gives assurances for which there is no backing whatsoever in the U.S. military doctrine, because as is known the use of U.S. nuclear missiles being deployed in the FRG would not be ordered by an FRG chancellor but the U.S. President who would be in office at that time. The high-sounding phrase of "peace in freedom" has been unmasked as actually meaning "threat to peace in U.S. bondage." What a bogey has been conjured up with the slogan of anti-Americanism, as if to be pro-American would have to mean to let the United States do as it pleases as self-appointed world gendarme outside of its territory, and to offer it German territory for deploying Pershing II and cruise missiles.

Despite everything, the FRG is at present trying to pursue a two-track policy. With a determined swing to the right it steers the course of the U.S. policy directed mainly against the Soviet Union and the GDR, but at the same time it feigns "faithfulness to treaties" in its relationship with the GDR. Thus the representatives of the NATO missile policy -- if we were to let them do so -- want to keep a foot in the door to counteract the development of the socialist society in the GDR that we are implementing in compliance with the decisions of the 10th party congress. That is why our ideological work must be primarily designed to ensure everywhere a further strengthening of the relationship of trust between the party and the people.

To us it is clear: The more serious the threat to peace becomes, the more consciously must every GDR citizen act on the foundation of our republic's Constitution, to further universally strengthen our socialist fatherland and to defend it at any time in the interest of peace. This has been expressed a hundredfold at the citizens meetings. The tremendous peace movement in our country, but also the courageous activities of the peace fighters in the FRG, in England, and even in the United States itself and in other capitalist pro-missile deployment countries, strengthen our hope that the militarist circles of the United States will not be able to assert themselves and that eventually functional relations and political realism must lead back to the policy of peaceful coexistence.

In the GDR the will of the party, state, and people to have peace is united. This is why in this struggle we are representing the worries and hopes of the people and why we are also understood by them. Here lies the root of the citizens' trust in the necessity of all measures that have to be taken by the party and the government out of responsibility for preserving peace.

EVANGELICAL SYNOD REJECTS MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS

LD281628 Hamburg DPA in German 1508 CMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] East Berlin, 28 Nov (DPA) -- The Synod of the Evangelical Church Province Saxony has reacted "with alarm and disappointment" to the decisions of West European parliaments in favor of deploying new missiles and rejected the announced siting of new missiles in the GDR. In resolutions adopted at the autumn meeting that ended in Halle on Sunday, the Synod emphatically calls for the continuation of disarmament negotiations.

In a "word to the parishes" it is explained that the deployment of new missiles in Western Europe and the announced Eastern countermeasures are something "which nobody wants or could want." The message continues: "However, we agree with our people shouldering political responsibility that more missiles will not bring us more security. To this we adhere and say no to the deployment of new missiles here." Young and old "are alarmed about the justification of military force today," armed military service is no longer a matter of course, and the social consequences of arms in the world will no longer be simply accepted. Peace efforts must be increased, and "the hopeless friend-enemy thinking" must be resisted.

The Synod sent a letter to the conference of the Evangelical Church leaders of the GDR Federation of Evangelical Churches which expresses "alarm and disappointment" over the West European deployment decisions. The announced accelerated preparation for the deployment of "operative-tactical longer-range missiles" in the GDR is termed depressing. The conference is asked to present in talks with the GDR Government a number of viewpoints concerning this question. Thus the Synod believes it urgently necessary to attempt everything in order to forgo the intended deployment of new missiles in the GDR and to stop the preparatory work for this.

It was also suggested that the governments of the two German states, in the spirit of a security partnership, form a joint commission to discuss questions of military security and disarmament.

The Synod Presidium was asked to send the letter to the church leaders of the Federation of Evangelical Churches and also the "word to the parishes" to the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany with the request that it make relevant representations to the Federal Government.

PAPER VIEWS BONN ANTIMISSILE DEMONSTRATIONS

AU251620 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 83 p 1

["H. Sta." commentary: "Obvious Lesson"]

[Text] What took place in the FRG and in Bonn yesterday and the day before is very revealing: a lesson for the hypocritical democratic understanding there. An enormous mobilization of police forces and border protection units strengthened by the notorious close-combat GSG-9 troops [antiterrorist squad] literally attacked tens of thousands of demonstrators in the FRG capital when they demonstrated against the Bundestag approval of the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in the FRG. With extreme brutality the bullies attacked the peaceful unprotected people, unscrupulously struck them with riot sticks, and unhesitatingly used chemical clubs and water cannons. A policeman shouted at an indignant woman: "We would also shoot, if we were allowed to." Over 500 members of the peace movement were forcibly lead away and detained. Hundreds were seriously and most seriously injured.

The demonstrators wanted nothing but to reaffirm the unshakable will and the conviction of the great majority of the FRG population before the doors of the Bundestag building, which was hermetically cordoned off: The parliament does not have the right to transform the Federal Republic into a launching pad for the American nuclear missiles against the will of the overwhelming majority of the citizens of the country and thus tremendously increase the dangers to peaceful life. "We say no" and "All our lives are at stake" -- their slogans read.

Unimpressed by the public opinion in the country and unimpressed by the brutal use of the state authority, the Bundestag continued its debate. At the edge of the area banned to the public around the Bonn Government District, missile opponents produced a huge banner with the appropriate wording: "Here begins the undemocratic sector of the FRG".

Truly an obvious lesson when they talk about peace in nice words but in reality start the nuclear war preparation and proceed with brute force against people who offer resistance on behalf of peace.

INQUIRIES ON FURTHER CREDIT MADE BY FRG

LD281458 Hamburg DPA in German 1430 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Bonn, 28 Nov (DPA/VWD) -- Following a DM1 billion credit in June, the GDR has inquired in Bonn about the possibility of further credits. Federal Chancellor Kohl confirmed on Monday that such an inquiry has been made "at a low level" to the Federal Economics Ministry, but explained at the same time that he sees "no reason" for granting another DM1 billion of credit.

Government spokesman Peter Boenisch said that the GDR directed a relevant credit inquiry to the Federal Economics Ministry last week. The government spokesman gave no further details as to the contents or amount of the credit inquiry.

EGYPT'S GHALI ARRIVES IN BERLIN 27 NOV

Met by Koenig

LD272123 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1920 GMT 27 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 27 Nov (ADN) -- The minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Butrus Butrus Ghali, arrived for a visit to the GDR on Sunday evening. He was invited by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. The guest and his entourage were cordially welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by GDR Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Gerd Koenig.

Talks With Fischer

LD281344 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1212 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 28 Nov (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Dr Butrus Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, have expressed their deep concern over the rapidly deteriorating and world peace threatening situation in Europe, the Middle East and other regions of the world. They began their talks on international and bilateral issues in Berlin on Monday. Both ministers agreed that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence and that in the interests of preserving life on earth the course of confrontation and arms escalation must be stopped.

Oskar Fischer informed him about the numerous activities, activities at the United Nations, among others, of the socialist community states to achieve this aim.

The Egyptian minister of state paid tribute to the victims of fascism and militarism by laying a wreath at the memorial in Unter Den Linden in Berlin on Monday morning.

Oskar Fischer will give a dinner in honor of his guest this evening.

SINDERMANN RECEIVES THAI PARLIAMENTARIANS

LD282151 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1757 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Berlin, 28 Nov (ADN) -- In Berlin on Monday GDR People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann received a delegation of the Thai House of Representatives led by Economic Committee Chairman Darong Singtothong. This is the first direct contact between the two parliaments. It will give new impetus to the mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation between both states, Horst Sindermann said.

Dialogue between parliamentarians furthers understanding between states and peoples in the interest of peace, Sindermann continued. This is now more urgent than ever, since, in view of the dangerous escalation of the international situation, the responsibility of parliaments for the prevention of a nuclear world war has increased. The siting of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe has begun a further round of the arms race. The GDR will leave nothing untried in order to achieve global disarmament.

Darong Singtothong said that his visit will contribute to deepening the friendship between Thailand and the GDR. The Thai politician spoke in favor of expanding trade between both countries.

POLITBURO MEMBERS VISIT DELEGATE CONFERENCES

DW281703 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] At 600 plant-delegate conferences of the SED, marking the party elections, communists today stressed their unrestrained agreement with the results of the 7th SED Central Committee session.

The speech delivered by General Secretary Erich Honecker, in which he had comprehensively substantiated and reiterated the consistent continuation of the peace policy and the main task in its unity between economic and social policy, met with full approval.

The conferences were attended by Politburo members of the SED Central Committee Joachim Herrmann in the Borna brown-coal plant and by Werner Krolkowski at the Brandenburg steel and rolling mill and by Guenter Mittag at the IFA motor works in Nordhausen. Politburo member Paul Verner held consultations with the communists at the Sachsenring automobile works in Zwickau. Politburo candidate members Inge Lange and Margarete Mueller were guests at the Reichsbahn repair works in Balherstadt and at the local delegate conferences at Friedland, in Neubrandenburg Bezirk respectively.

The conferences expressed the determination to do even more now for the securing of peace and the strengthening of the GDR. This is an important contribution to preventing a nuclear inferno and to securing world peace.

PEOPLE'S CHAMBER TO CONVENE 8 DECEMBER

LD281938 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] The Presidium of the GDR People's Chamber today announced that the Eighth People's Chamber meeting will be convened on 8 December in Berlin. The draft laws on the economic plan and the 1984 state budget as well as the law on nuclear energy will be discussed. The Presidium is sending the draft laws to the relevant committees. People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann reported on the consultative meeting of the presidents of the parliaments of the Warsaw Pact Member states on 9 and 10 November in Sofia, at which current issues connected with the struggle for peace and European security were discussed.

BRIEFS

NEW GUINEAN AMBASSADOR -- On 3 November Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, received Daouda Berete, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Revolutionary Guinean Republic to the GDR, for the presentation of his credentials. In the talk they agreed that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation have developed to the benefit of both states and peoples. Erich Honecker resolutely condemned the confrontation and intensive armament policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism and stressed the necessity of uniting all peace-loving forces in the world to prevent a new round of the nuclear arms race. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Nov 83 p 2 AU]

NEW LESOTHO AMBASSADOR -- On 3 November Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, received Joseph Kaibe Mollo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Lesotho to the GDR, for the presentation of his credentials. The partners in the talk noted that the relations between their two countries have developed well and represent a contribution in the worldwide struggle for peace, international security, and disarmament; against neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid. Erich Honecker assured the ambassador that the GDR people will be in solidarity at the side of Lesotho in warding off all attempts of the South African racist regime to undermine the stability of independent states of the region. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Nov 83 p 2 AU]

REPORTAGE, COMMENTARY ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

Support for Andropov Statement

LD282209 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] The Hungarian Government supports the statement Yuriy Andropov made in connection with the beginning of the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. The deployment further increases international -- and, first and foremost, European -- military tension and launches a new round in the arms race that endangers not only the security of the socialist countries but also world peace. The leading circles of the United States and NATO ignored all along the proposals of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact, which were aimed at reaching an agreement in accordance with the requirement of equal security. For this reason, they are responsible for increasing tension.

The Hungarian Government considers the Soviet measures taken to ensure its security and that of the other member states of the Warsaw Pact to be well-founded and necessary for the maintenance of the military balance of power.

The Hungarian People's Republic welcomes the standpoint taken by the Soviet leadership, in accordance with which if the United States and its West European allies show readiness to reestablish the situation prior to the deployment of the missiles, the USSR will also be prepared to do so.

Together with the other member-states of the Warsaw Pact, the Hungarian People's Republic will continue its efforts to halt the arms race, reduce political and military tension, ward off the dangers threatening peace, and continue the dialogue needed for all this, the government statement notes.

U.S. 'Plays Down' Soviet Measures

LD251400 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] Washington has already replied to the Soviet statement. The essence of the reply shows that the U.S. Administration is trying to play down the Soviet measures. Our correspondent is Elemer Csak:

[Csak] Yuriy Andropov's statement has aroused neither alarm nor a feeling of crisis in the U.S. Administration, the White House stated, because, it said, the Soviet countermeasures were expected. According to the spokesman, President Reagan was distressed by the announcement but will continue to seek possibilities for the continuation of negotiations.

Analyzing the Soviet reaction, the conclusion has been drawn in Washington -- or at least this has been announced to the public -- that if the negotiations have been broken off, then at the most a new forum will have to be found. As regards the termination of the moratorium on the Soviet SS-20 weapons, according to the White House this never existed, and the Soviet Union supposedly continued to manufacture them during the Geneva talks too. The measure -- whose prospect has been raised -- that the U.S. nuclear weapons sited in Western Europe will be counterbalanced by Soviet submarines equipped with cruise missiles along the coasts of the United States, is similarly evaluated in Washington. According to the White House, this has been in progress for a long time, as it is part of a previously begun program that the Soviet Union is speeding up missile deployment in Eastern Europe.

According to observers, in other circumstances the U.S. administration would have sounded the alarm and aroused panic. Now, however, fearing that public opinion in the final instance will attribute the exacerbation of the situation to the start of the West European missile deployment and will hold the United States responsible for what has happened, Washington is trying to make the Soviet Union's coerced measures appear insignificant.

Report on Bundestag Debate

AU281420 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 23 November on pages 1,2 publishes an 800-word report by Bonn correspondent Andras Kanyo on the 22 November session of the FRG Bundestag, headlined "After an Intense Debate, the FRG Parliament Has Voted for the Acceptance of Missiles."

Contrasting "relative calm" and "only sporadic demonstrations" in the streets of Bonn on the day of the session with a "heated atmosphere," "intense exchanges," and "tumultuous scenes" in the Bundestag, Kanyo says that former chancellor Helmut Schmidt's speech the day before, "some passages of which criticized his own party's position, left its mark on the entire debate." His declaration in favor of the beginning of the deployment of missiles was "grist to the mill of the CDU-CSU and FDP deputies," who, in any case, "put the emphasis primarily on discrediting the SPD."

Kanyo briefly notes the speeches of the deputies representing the coalition government and SPD deputies Hans Apel and Hans-Juergen Wischnewski and reviews at greater length and quotes from the speeches of SPD chairman Willy Brandt and Otto Schilly, "parliamentary spokesman of the Greens," who came out strongly against the missile deployment. He reports, without comment, the outcome of the voting on the three draft resolutions submitted to the Bundestag, including the resolution endorsing the beginning of the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in the FRG.

VARKONYI LEAVES FOR IRAN, MIDEAST TOUR

LD261206 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi left for Iran this morning on a tour of the Middle and Near East. He was invited for an official visit by 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs. Following the visit to Iran, Varkonyi will visit Kuwait, Syria, and Jordan.

Reportage on Visit

For reportage on Foreign Minister Varkonyi's official visit to Kuwait, including his comments to newsmen on arrival, see the Arabian Peninsula section of the 29 November Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues. For reportage on Varkonyi's visit to Iran, see the Iran section of the 29 November South Asia DAILY REPORT.

ACZEL LEAVES FOR SOVIET UNION AT CPSU INVITATION

LD261256 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] Gyorgy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, has left for the Soviet Union, where he has been invited by the CPSU Central Committee.

Meets With Demichev, Zimyanin

For Budapest MTI reportage on the visit to Moscow by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the HSWP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and his meetings with USSR Cultural Minister and alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Peter Demichev, and CPSU Secretary Mikhail Zimyanin, see the East Europe section of the 29 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

GYULA HORN VISITS ITALY 25-27 NOV

LD282243 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI) -- Gyula Horn, head of the HSWP CC's Foreign Affairs Department, visited Italy from November 25 to 27 on the invitation of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee (PCI).

PCI General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer received Gyula Horn, who held talks with Paolo Bufalini and Armelino Milani, members of PCI leadership, Antonio Rubbi, member of the Central Committee, Rodolfo Mechini, member of the Central Control Commission, and other (?PCI) officials. In the course of talks marked by cordial and comradely atmosphere the parties discussed international issues, paying special attention to peace and security in Europe.

Gyula Horn had talks with Vincenzo Balzamo, member of the Secretariat of the Italian Socialist Party, and Ivanka Corti, foreign secretary of the Christian Democratic Party.

OFFICIALS RECEIVE LIBYAN MILITARY DELEGATION

LD260011 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI) -- Invited by Colonel-General Istvan Olah, deputy defence minister, a Libyan military delegation paid an official friendship visit to Hungary, November 21-25, led by Brigadier-General Mustafa al-Kharrubi, chief of staff of the Libyan Armed Forces, and member of the revolutionary leadership of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The leader of the delegation met President Pal Losonczi, and Ferenc Havasi, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, members of the HSWP Political committee.

Army General Lajos Czinege, Hungarian defence minister has had talks with Brigadier-General Mustafa al-Kharrubi. The delegation left Hungary Friday.

SARLOS RECEIVES CSSR PEACE MOVEMENT DELEGATION

LD261052 Budapest MTI in English 1014 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] Budapest, November 25 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Czechoslovak 'Pacem in Terris' clerical peace movement, headed by Titular Bishop Josef Vrana, apostolic governor of Olomuc, visited Hungary on the invitation of the Catholic Committee of the Hungarian Peace Council.

Istvan Sarlos, vice-chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met the delegation. Present were Ondrej Durej, Czechoslovak ambassador to Hungary, State Secretary Imre Miklas, president of the state [word indistinct] for church affairs, and Canon Imre Biro, general secretary of the Catholic Committee of the Peace Council. The delegation left Budapest Friday.

LEADERS GREET SFRY COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

LD282354 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi, and Gyorgy Lazar have cabled greetings to Yugoslavia's leaders on the occasion of their country's national day. The telegram notes that Hungarian-Yugoslav good-neighborly relations and comprehensive cooperation are gaining strength. Our peoples' traditional friendship and the efforts aimed at developing relations between our parties and countries are in harmony with the interests of our peoples, and serve well the causes of socialism, social progress and peace.

This is stressed in the telegram sent by the Hungarian leaders to Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Mika Spiljak, president of the Presidency of the Republic; and Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council.

KADAR TO VISIT GDR 'IN COMING DAYS'

LD232047 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 23 Nov 83

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, is to pay an official, friendship visit, in the coming days, to the German Democratic Republic on the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party and president of the State Council of the GDR.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION SET FOR 22 DEC

LD251528 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Text] The Presidential Council has convened the National Assembly for 22 December. On the basis of the government's proposal, the modification of the constitution, the election of National Assembly deputies and council members, and the draft law on the state budget for next year will be discussed at the session.

At its session today, the Presidential Council decided on the establishment of several large villages as cities. Apart from this, judges were released and chosen.

BRIEFS

JOINT MINISTERIAL MEETING WITH SFRY -- Budapest, November 24 (MTI) -- The ministers of agriculture of Hungary and Yugoslavia held a three-day meeting on Nov. 21-23 to discuss achievements and problems, and to visit Hungarian and Yugoslav agricultural plants. The first meeting took place at Becse in Yugoslavia where Yugoslav Agricultural Minister Milorad Stanojevic and Hungarian Agriculture and Food Minister Jenő Vancsa signed a plant protection agreement to promote turnover of agrarian products and start cooperation ventures. The ministers agreed that in the future the major phytopathological issues will be judged on principles held in common and similar measures taken against damage in border agricultural areas. The ministers discussed prospects of cooperation in soya and sugarbeet production and processing. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 24 Nov 83 LD]

PAP COMMENTARY: POLAND ONE OF MAIN NATO TARGETS

LD282255 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 28 Nov 83

[By PAP military commentator]

[Text] Warsaw 28 Nov -- It is naivety to claim that since there are no Soviet inter-continental and Euromissile bases in Poland and the countermeasures to the deployment of cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe are designed for the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, the nuclear threat to Poland is smaller.

The area of Poland is the core of what we call the territorial system of defence of the Warsaw Treaty. Poland has a 500 kilometre-long direct sea-air contact space with the capitalist world. Our transportation and communications system, as well as important industrial centres, seaports and the entire defensive potential are also at the focus of attention of NATO strategists.

From the political point of view, Poland has been and still is treated by the United States as an instrument in the global confrontation-oriented policy pursued by Reagan's administration. From the strategic-military point of view, Poland has been one of the main targets of NATO's war machine. This applies not only to nuclear, but also conventional weapons.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI ON BUNDESTAG DECISION

AU281540 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Nov 83 p 2

[Major Andrzej Fryszkiewicz commentary: "A Challenge to Peace"]

[Text] Against the wishes of the large majority of its citizens and against the sense that is contained in the most elementary human issue of "to be or not to be," the FRG Bundestag has once again shattered hopes of a stable peace in Europe. The first time this happened was during the rule of the Social Democrat government whose plenipotentiaries opened the road to a new stage in nuclear weapons on our continent by adding their signature to the so-called NATO two-track resolution that was signed in Brussels on 21 November 1979. During the last 4 years, however, Europeans counted on the fact that good sense would prevail, but the voting that took place during the Bundestag debate yesterday settled the question.

U.S. Pershing II and guided missiles can, to all intents and purposes, enter the FRG freely beginning today. The Bundestag -- although not all its members -- has become insensitive to the huge wave of protest voiced by the people of the FRG and the whole of Europe, and is even insensitive to what took place behind the doors of the Bonn parliament. A clear majority of the votes of the ruling coalition parties, the CDU, the CSU, and the FDP, set the seal on the unfortunate matter. Unfortunate not only for FRG society, but also for the future history of our continent. The arrogant and ruthless words expressed by Wolfgang Mischnick, leader of the FDP group, sounded ominously from the rostrum last Monday. They were, after all, nothing other than an open challenge to peace, and not only to European peace. "The FRG must and will keep the word it pledged in 1979."

How different these words are to those that Soviet leaders directed and continue to direct, and not for the first time, to Western governments and parliamentarians to save world peace. Due to U.S. pressure, a clear and very emphatic commentary on the FRG was recently presented in PRAVDA by Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov. The USSR Minister of Defense once more warned Western European governments and parliaments the day before the above mentioned Bundestag debate of the danger of their compliance with the leadership in Washington.

Speaking of the matter of the White House's open and persistent endeavors to gain the military supremacy of the United States over the USSR, and of the NATO over the Warsaw Pact, Marshal Ustinov also cited the typical vocabulary that is reiterated in U.S. "peace declarations" -- "We should only build peace by force...peace should be based on force...peace will be lasting if we are strong," which is the way in which the President of the United States expresses his foreign policy program, Dmitriy Ustinov reminded us.

However, it appears that this "basic" vocabulary also occurred in the course of the debate at the FRG parliament. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl also used this vocabulary, as did other Social Democrat or liberal speakers who were eager to give the "green light" to the U.S. missiles. Today, when we are in possession of the facts, which are, to all intents and purposes, facts that are tragic for our continent, we are still faced with the answer to the fundamental question: What next? The matter will not, after all, end when Mr. Wolfgang Mischnick or his arms team is fully satisfied. The answer should be sought in the statement we have already mentioned above by Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov.

First, the "fate of the agreement now depends on solving the basic problems, which are: abandoning the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, taking into consideration the British and French missiles when determining the strength of the sides, reducing the numbers of missile-carrying intermediate-range aircraft belonging to the two sides in Europe," D. Ustinov reminded us. This reminder and essential option was treated lightly in Bonn, at least within the walls of the Bundestag. FRG parliamentarians used such hackneyed phrases in their "passionate" and "peaceful" speeches as, for example, the "Soviet missile monopoly," the superiority of the USSR on the continent and in the world" and "the Communist threat." The crowds outside the Bundestag who were truly agitated were chanting something else altogether, but their words were lost in the din of the exploding fireworks and tear gas, while ice-cold water cannons and policemen's truncheons were "prompting" them to public "support" of the deployment of U.S. missiles which was then being granted to the United States by the FRG parliament.

Second, concluding his statement PRAVDA, Dmitriy Ustinov, while reminding us of the whole range of the USSR's peace efforts and initiatives stressed that "our country's defense capability is on such a level that I would not advise anyone to try and test their strength against it." Meanwhile, the results of the voting in Bonn and the obstinacy of most of the FRG parliamentarians indicates that aside from the swarms of people who have perceived the danger of nuclear arms, there is also a considerable group of people on the Rhine who would like to push Europe into this kind of confrontation, although they also know the more than tragic end that this would bring for mankind.

This is why the words of good sense that were spoken by Hans Jochen Vogel or Otto Schily were lost in the fervor of the anti-Soviet and anticommunist speeches that were voiced in the Bundestag discussion hall. It was the latter, the representative of the "Greens," who clearly said that the decision that the Bundestag made yesterday on missiles is, as he put it, "an act of submission to the increasingly aggressive policies of the United States."

The FRG police and voluntary GSG-9 squads organized a first-rate lesson in the vicinity of the Bonn parliament for those who hold a different view. Let us hope that it will end at that because the FRG's decision on the deployment of the U.S. missiles in the FRG is a new source of war on our continent, and this statement is not a needless dramatization of what is obvious to the majority of the public.

ARTICLE REVIEWS PLENUM ON CHURCH, STATE, PARTY

AU230844 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 83 p 3

[Jan Ruszczyc article: "In the Spirit of Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] The 13th PZPR Central Committee Politburo's plenum report draws attention to the fact that "there are forces both at home and in the West that want, at all costs, to bring about a clash between the Church and the socialist stage." "We will resolutely oppose these attempts to do so, attempts which appear in various forms," the report said.

The political endeavors made by the opponents of socialism to put the Church at odds with the state and to undermine the cornerstone of national accord, which is harmonious cooperation between Poles of various world-outlooks, still continue after the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Our task to oppose these harmful trends, therefore, continues to be a current one.

The party's supreme and, to some extent initial, principle is its concern to unify people whose world outlooks differ in the implementation of the goals of the whole nation, and not to divide them or set them at odds with one another.

The report read at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum said: "While taking care that the influence of the learned Marxist world-outlook is increased, we believe that the most important thing is that the differences that exist in world-outlooks and religious persuasions should not hinder work for the good of the socialist homeland. We oppose the political attempts to divide Poles into believers and nonbelievers. Socialist humanism and the values connected with the goals of the workers class are previous to all our citizens."

A further excerpt of the Politburo report directly concerns believers:

"Those whose religious beliefs motivate their social activities can do this in the framework of the associations and other organizations that bind together Catholics with members of other Christian religions. Clergy of all persuasions can also take advantage of their civic rights in order to contribute to public life in a way that is in accordance with the interests of the Polish people and the state."

An important feature of the party's position on the issues we have been discussing is the fact that it regards the following two constitutional principles to be inviolable: freedom of conscience and belief and separation of Church and state.

The resolution entitled "The Party's Ideological Tasks in Implementing the Policy Lines of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress," says that:

"The PZPR constantly professes the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of conscience and belief of every citizen, as well as the tolerance and the strict observance of the principle of the separation of Church and state."

Let us recall that this last principle was formulated long before the emergence of socialism as a real system, and that the secularity of the state has been a common practice since the 1789 French Revolution in many countries including those that are now promoting a special doctrine to set believers at odds with nonbelievers in Poland. The report read at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum stressed the constitutional importance of these principles, as well as the need to defend them from attack.

"The party," the above-mentioned report said, "will constantly guide itself along the constitutional principles of the separation of Church and state in all areas. In its concerns for the good of the state, and the internal law and order which these principles serve, it will resolutely oppose all their infringements. We will not reconcile ourselves to the phenomenon of intolerance, militant clericalism, or inflamed speeches that have nothing to do with religion."

A similar statement can be found in the resolution adopted at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which stresses once again that the party supports "full respect for freedom of religious practices of all churches and religious unions that operate in Poland, as well as harmonious relations between the state and the Church, which are in accordance with the interests of the PPR."

At the same time, as stated in the resolution, the party does believe that the following is intolerable:

"The abuse of the cassock or the place of the religious cult for political activities that are incompatible with the interests of the PPR, violate law and order, or disturb social peace."

The party's attitude on the Church, as defined at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, as well as to believers, is an important feature of the party's ideological program which was put together at this plenum. It sets out both realistic and constructive prospects for cooperation between the state and Church, for people with different world outlooks in the construction of the prosperity of socialist Poland.

JARUZELSKI ATTENDS PLANNING COMMISSION MEETING

LD261620 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] The most essential socioeconomic problems of the country were discussed by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at the meeting with the leading cadre and political and social aktiv of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers. Present were Deputy Premiers Manfred Gorywoda, Zbigniew Messner, and Janusz Obodowski, whom in Wojciech Jaruzelski cordially thanked for leading the work of the Planning Commission in a difficult and complex period for the economy.

SUGAR, CHOCOLATE RATION TO INCREASE IN DECEMBER

LD262308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] An additional 1 kilogram of sugar per ration card, an increased standard allocation of 200 grams per voucher for chocolate products, and a continuation of sale of oil outside the ration coupon system are envisaged in the principles for ration sale for December announced in a communique of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. The remainder of the principles remains unchanged. In December people on vacation, in sanatoriums, or people who receive their meals in the collective, closed system, are not obliged to hand in their ration coupons for butter.

BUJAK PREDICTS RATIONING WILL CAUSE STRIKES

NC261335 Paris AFP in English 1328 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 26 (AFP) -- Strikes and widespread anti-government protests will follow a series of food increases due to come into effect in Poland early next year, a key member of the banner Solidarity Trade Unions underground leadership forecast.

Zbigniew Bujak, leader of Solidarity's clandestine National Committee TKK, made the prediction in an interview published in the latest number of the unions underground news bulletin dated yesterday and shown to Western correspondents today.

In it, Mr Bujak said he was "convinced that the price rises will be followed by big protest movements including strikes... Everything indicates that the people will defend themselves." Proof of this, he said, was the nationwide outcry at the beginning of November after the government reimposed butter rationing.

Mr Bujak said the government's entire policy revolved around the "general economic situation and the particular problem of living standards".

CULTURAL MINISTER INTERVIEWED BY VIENNA TV

AU251553 Vienna Television Service in German 2050 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Interview given by Polish Minister of Culture and Arts Kazimierz Zygulski to Vienna TV reporter Johanna Rabzyner; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Rabzyner] With the aid of the so-called verification, the academic staff at Polish universities are being screened for their political loyalty to the regime. Without signing so-called loyalty declarations, Polish professors may not make any trips to the West for official purposes, symposiums, or lectures. Are you satisfied with the results achieved to date by this operation?

[Zygulski] This is another one of these half-truths. You certainly must distinguish between the administrative functions, management functions, and responsibility that go with official posts, on the one hand, and normal scientific activity, on the other. We expect from the leading figures at higher schools and universities, who bear such a great responsibility, who educate students, that they are loyal.

[Rabzyner] You are administering today a cultural scene from which all critical representatives have been excluded for political reasons, while -- also for political reasons -- all loyal party members are being promoted. Does this not contradict the government's postulate that art has to be nothing but art, and culture must not be politics?

[Zygulski] Where the cultural scene is concerned, we distinguish between different roles. Today it is quite normal to have people playing different roles. The same people are artists and politicians. But the rules in this game are quite different. We are giving everyone, and we will continue to give everyone, the opportunity to work in his artistic profession, to pursue artistic activities, but if they interfere in politics they must be treated in accordance with political rules.

[Rabzyner] Do you not fear an impoverishment of the cultural scene as a result of the purge that was carried out for political reasons?

[Zygulski] I stress again that this term purge that you have used applies only to persons connected with leading administrative functions.

[Rabzyner] So the underground publications are actually obsolete?

[Zygulski] I cannot say that -- these are two different fields tied together in one personality. But you know, not only from our era but also from history, that there is a great distance between a person's activity as an artist and his activity as a politician. And sometimes people who are great artists are very poor politicians. And if one gives them the opportunity to engage in all sorts of activities in their own field, that of arts, one cannot say that arts and culture are being impoverished. But politics must be kept free of poor politicians.

URBAN'S REPLY ON KAMINSKI MEETING CITED

LD181619 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 18 Nov 83

[Text] RZECZPOSPOLITA publishes a statement made by the government press spokesman in reply to articles on the Nowy Sacz visit by the transportation minister. Articles have appeared in the Nowy Sacz weekly DUNAJEC and in GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, RZECZPOSPOLITA reports, sharply criticizing transportation Minister Janusz Kaminski in connection with his meeting with the management and activists of the Nowy Sacz rail junction. On the basis of these reports, POLITYKA and some other periodicals made even sharper criticisms. The essence of the accusations made against Minister Kaminski boils down to the fact that he ignored the Nowy Sacz railmen, was late for the meeting, and did not have time to listen to questions. His speech contained statements that the local railmen and press regarded as arrogant. In connection with the above accusations, the chairman of the Council of Ministers instructed that the incident be examined carefully. This has been done.

In reply, Jerzy Urban stresses that government work consists of frequent trips to the provinces; it works in close contact with public opinion. Dozens of meetings take place, the aim of which is to hear the views held by various milieus, dialogue, and explanations of actions of state ministries and executive authorities. Most of these talks have a sincere and straightforward character. Despite differences of opinion, they proceed, on principle, in a manner satisfying those present. For the government these meetings represent a source of direct knowledge of the wishes, moods, and proposals arising. The meetings do not supplement the act of governing, but constitute its essence; governing in close contact with social opinion, workers' opinions in particular. I have been authorized to say that the government leadership has noted with all seriousness that one of these meetings, the meeting between Minister Kaminski and the several-dozen-strong group of the Nowy Sacz rail junction has had an unfavorable resonance among those directly concerned and in the press. Following a careful examination of the facts and circumstances, the government leadership has drawn its conclusions for ways to plan, prepare, and conduct such meetings. It expects from the press, at the same time, honest and comprehensive reporting so as not to misrepresent the essence of an event.

More details appear in today's RZECZPOSPOLITA.

DISSIDENT PRIEST'S SERMON PRAISES SOLIDARITY

OW280035 Hong Kong AFP in English 0004 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Nov 27 (AFP) -- Father Jerzy Popieloszek, a leading dissident Roman Catholic priest, said in a blistering sermon to 10,000 people here tonight that the outlawed trade union Solidarity was "marching to victory" and becoming daily more deeply rooted in Poland. Father Popieloszek, who has been charged with abuse of his religious duties and is on a list of 69 "extremist" priests Polish authorities have complained about to Jozef Cardinal Glemp, denounced political repression and praised dissidents jailed and in hiding. At the end of the sermon, the crowd sang Poland's opposition anthem "God Give Us a Free Poland" and made pro-Solidarity v-for-victory signs.

PRESS COVERAGE OF U.S.-USSR MISSILE CONTROVERSY

SCINTEIA Cites XINHUA on Missiles

AU281355 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Nov 83 p 6

["A Commentary of the XINHUA Agency" -- SCINTEIA Headline]

[Text] The Soviet delegation at the Geneva negotiations on intermediate-range missiles announced the USSR's withdrawal from these negotiations. Consequently, the talks have been suspended for an indefinite period of time, creating conditions for an aggravation of the USSR-U.S. confrontation on the question of Euromissiles.

Euromissiles have become a reality in the life of Europeans with the arrival, in the second part of November, of the first lot of cruise missiles in Great Britain. The Italian parliament approved the deployment of U.S. missiles in its country, and the West German Bundestag, after 2 days of debates, likewise endorsed a resolution on the deployment of U.S. missiles in the FRG.

Under these conditions, the Soviet Union seems determined to proceed with implementing its "countermeasures" it has announced.

This will lead to acceleration of the nuclear arms race in which the United States and the USSR are involved and to deterioration of the international situation. This new factor will intensify the unstable situation in Europe and will further complicate international relations as well as the domestic political situations in the European countries. Another consequence of these developments is the new upsurge of the anti-nuclear popular movement.

As long as the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, fight for hegemony, there can be no quiet in the world. Since Europe is the main target of this competition, each of the two superpowers is trying to attain nuclear superiority on this continent.

In 1977, the Soviet Union started to deploy its SS-20 missiles, which can hit any target in West Europe from Soviet territory. The intermediate-range missiles which the United States had in Europe were no counterweight to the new Soviet missiles. The United States was afraid that Moscow might resort to nuclear blackmail, on the basis of its nuclear superiority in Europe, thus dividing Europe and breaking up NATO. Consequently, the United States came up with the cruise and Pershing II missiles.

Of course, the SS-20 cruise and Pershing II missiles are improved military weapons. But they also are political weapons used by the two superpowers in their struggle for supremacy in Europe.

On the one hand, the Soviet Union is trying by any means to prevent the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Western Europe in order to maintain the superiority it achieved after the deployment of SS-20 missiles. On the other hand, the United States is determined to implement the plan to deploy its new missiles if the Soviet Union does not scrap its SS-20 missiles. That is why the Geneva talks on Euromissiles failed to make any progress, despite the more than 100 rounds of talks in the past 2 years.

The Euromissiles have a particular importance for Washington's position as leader of the West European alliance. The United States hopes that, aside from consolidating its position in the competition with Moscow, the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles will prevent neutralism from gaining ground in Western Europe.

Faced with the Soviet nuclear threat, on the one hand, and with isolation trends in the United States on the other, the leaders of certain West European countries welcome the deployment of the new U.S. missiles with the hope that these missiles will oblige Washington to observe its commitments, so that West Europe may find itself abandoned in case the two superpowers eventually reach an agreement.

In spite of all this, the recent events have greatly increased the concern of Europeans. Ignoring the opposition of its West European allies, the United States has invaded Grenada and is currently concentrating its forces in the troubled Middle East. With the NATO missiles deployed in certain West European countries, but under U.S. control, who can guarantee that Washington will take into account the opinions of its allies before pressing the button to launch a nuclear weapon in case of a crisis in the U.S.-USSR competition for hegemony? Knowing that there are people in the United States who favor the theory of a "limited nuclear war in Europe," what will happen if this theory is put into practice?

These questions trouble not only public opinion and opposition groups in West Europe but also the people in power.

While the problem of Euromissiles aggravates the tension in Soviet-U.S. relations, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stressed the need for coexistence between the Soviet Union and the West on a world level. Thatcher said that she is prepared to start a dialogue with the Soviets at the right moment and announced that she will visit Hungary at the beginning of next year. Her statements indicate a change in the relations between Great Britain and the United States and in the ties between Great Britain and the USSR.

Even more telling is the attitude adopted by the opposition parties in Great Britain. After a parliamentary debate, the opposition parties unanimously voted against the deployment of cruise missiles and openly advocated Great Britain's independence from its European allies and the United States, demanding dual control over the cruise missiles.

The problem of Euromissiles has unleashed great opposition in West European public opinion. Millions of Europeans have demonstrated against the Soviet and U.S. missiles. The pacifist anti-nuclear movements have a great impact upon public opinion and the political situation in Western Europe.

The Europeans have good reason to be worried about the escalation of the nuclear arms race. With the arrival of new U.S. missiles in West Europe, the Soviets will certainly take countermeasures. Aside from installing SS-20 missiles, they will try to build a new generation of missiles that can give them an edge in the competition with the United States for superiority. At the same time, the USSR will deploy new missiles in countries closest to Western Europe, such as the CSSR and GDR. The confrontation of U.S. and Soviet missiles will pose new dangers for Europe and the rest of the world.

The deployment of Euromissiles shows that both superpowers rely to a great extent on military force; here is the danger of the political game.

SCINTEIA, ROMANIA LIBERA Reportage

AU281155 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian of 26 November and SCINTEIA of 27 November carry a large number of articles, press agency reports, many of which are Western, and readers' letters in connection with differences between the U.S. and Soviet positions on the question of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

SCINTEIA of 26 November carries on page 6 the 1,700-word apparent text of Soviet leader Andropov's statement on the start of the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe and the subsequent Soviet walkout at the Geneva negotiations, as reported by TASS. It also carries a 250-word report on U.S. President Ronald Reagan's statements in Washington and Santa Barbara expressing "disappointment" over the Soviet walkout in Geneva and "dismay" at the Soviet decision to deploy additional missiles in Eastern Europe and on submarines. These two items, and the item published above from SCINTEIA of 26 November appear in identical form in ROMANIA LIBERA of 26 November.

SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA of 26 November and SCINTEIA of 27 November carry brief reports, averaging 50-100 words each, on various stands adopted by Western and communist leaders on the U.S.-USSR missile dispute. Most of the Western positions express "regret" or "dismay" at the suspension by the USSR of the Geneva arms limitation negotiations and express the hope that the talks will eventually be resumed. The reports note that nonaligned leaders like India's Indira Gandhi and Finland's Mauno Koivisto have appealed to both sides to go back to the negotiating table. All the reported communist countries' stands favor the USSR position, with the CSSR and GDR leaders endorsing the Soviet decision to deploy missiles on their territory as an "inevitable countermeasure" to the NATO decision to go ahead with the deployment of missiles in Europe.

SCINTEIA of 27 November devotes its entire page 5 to letters from Romanian working people fully endorsing the declaration of the joint meeting of the political executive committee of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the government on the U.S.-USSR missile controversy. Likewise, SCINTEIA of 27 November devotes virtually its entire page 6 to favorable response, in Western and Yugoslav foreign media, to this declaration and other Romanian peace initiatives.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON MAURITANIAN RELATIONS

AU261542 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 26 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/11/83 -- A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held on November 25 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

During the meeting questions were analysed relating to the economic collaboration of Romania with the socialist countries as well as with other states, and measures were set for the expansion and intensification of her economic and cooperative relations with those countries.

Next, Nicolae Ceausescu informed about the official visit of friendship Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haydala, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, paid to Romania over November 17-19.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the talks conducted by the two presidents in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. It was stressed with satisfaction that the productive results of those talks strongly confirmed once again the essential role of summit interviews in the development of the Romanian-Mauritanian relations.

The Executive Political Committee highlighted the great significance of the joint declaration signed by the two presidents, which reiterates the will of Romania and Mauritania to strengthen their cooperation on a bilateral and international plane, in the interests of the two countries and peoples, of an intensified cooperation among the developing countries, of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration among all the world nations.

The importance was also highlighted of the understandings covenanted by the two presidents on the expansion of cooperation in priority economic domains and on mutually advantageous terms, through joint companies included, as well as on the increase and diversification of commercial exchanges. Furthermore, it was stressed that both sides agreed to promote the links between the two countries in education, science, culture and in other fields of activity.

The Executive Political Committee also pointed to the deep significance of the exchange of opinions between the two presidents on international issues, which brought to the fore the convergence of views between the two countries in relations both to the assessment of current developments and to the measures which should be taken for the guaranteeing of peace and security, for a policy of detente, understanding and collaboration worldwide, for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order. The exchange of opinions also reasserted the solidarity of both countries with the African people's fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racism and the policies of apartheid for free development and independence.

Fully approving of the understandings and documents covenanted during the Romanian-Mauritanian summit, the Executive Political Committee set measures for their translation into fact, for the ever more sustained development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Mauritania.

CEAUSESCU GREETES ALBANIANS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU271839 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 27 Nov 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 27/11/1983 -- On the national day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu addressed congratulations and best wishes of prosperity and progress on the road of socialist development of their homeland to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of that country.

The telegram expresses the conviction that the traditional links of friendship between the Romanian and Albanian peoples will steadily diversify and deepen.

Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour, SCINTEIA shows in an editorial note marking the national day of that country, revolutionary transformations were wrought in all domains, landlord and capitalist exploitation was liquidated and comprehensive plans of economic and social development were translated into fact which made Albania embark on the road of progress, gradually liquidating the heavy heritage of the past.

The Romanian people, that nurtures feelings of friendship for all the peoples committed to building the new system, rejoices at the outstanding achievements scored by the working people in Albania in the development of their homeland. Along history, relations of friendship and solidarity were established between the Romanian people and the Albanian people in the fight for eliminating foreign oppression, for independence and a better life.

Referring to the development of the Romanian-Albanian relations of collaboration in the years of people's power on the basis of the principles of full equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, the newspaper considers that this is in the interests of the two peoples, of the consolidation of their friendship as well as for the benefit of the cause of peace and collaboration worldwide.

CEAUSESCU GREETES GREEK KKE-EXTERIOR ON ANNIVERSARY

AU221311 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 17 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] To Comrade Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party [KKE-Exterior]:

The 65th anniversary of the establishment of the KKE-Exterior affords me a pleasant opportunity to convey to you, to the Central Committee of the KKE-Exterior, and to all party members sincere, comradely greetings and warmest wishes for new achievements in your efforts to promote the interests of the workers class, social progress, and international cooperation, security, and detente.

I want to take this opportunity to express my conviction that the relations between our two parties, based on the principles of full equality, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual esteem and respect, will further expand and develop, for the benefit of the Romanian and Greek peoples and of the cause of peace, disarmament, and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES OMANI COUNTERPART

AU271926 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romainan 1800 GMT 27 Nov 83

[Text] Official talks began in Bucharest today between the foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Stefan Andrei, and the minister of state for foreign affairs of the Sultanate of Oman, Yusuf al-Alawi 'Abdallah. The two ministers reviewed bilateral relations and emphasized with satisfaction the ascending course of mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries. Both sides also highlighted the great potential for expanding and developing bilateral cooperation in political, economic and other areas, and expressed the desire to further develop bilateral relations for the benefit of both countries and peoples, and the cause of international peace and cooperation.

The two ministers examined areas of cooperation of mutual interest and pointed out additional opportunities for expanding and strengthening our cooperation, particularly for increasing and diversifying commercial exchanges and initiating cooperation ventures.

The ministers also discussed major international political issues. They expressed their governments' desire to cooperate in the international arena to relax tension and resume the policy of detente, security, and national independence. Both sides highlighted the vital importance of the struggle for peace and disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and the need for increased efforts to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new world economic order.

In connection with the problem of extinguishing hotbeds of conflict and tension peacefully, through negotiations, the ministers gave special attention to developments in the Middle East and in the Gulf area, and to ways and means of devising just and lasting solutions to the problems affecting those areas. They emphasized the importance of consolidating the unity of the developing countries, promoting their active participation in settling all major contemporary problems, and increasing their role in international life.

BORBA ON FRG BUNDESTAG EUROMISSILE DECISION

AU281340 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 83 p 2

[Rade Vujovic commentary: "Missiles Are Coming"]

[Text] The consent of the government majority in the Bundestag to begin the installation of American Pershing and cruise missiles in the FRG has not come as a surprise to the West Germans. This decision was made despite demonstration marches that have simply flooded the streets and squares of German towns in recent days, despite the majority of the Germans who do not want the missiles (two thirds, according to all polls), and despite the threat that the new missiles may represent for the continuation of the "Eastern policy!" Neither Brandt's warnings that the division in the FRG (and Europe) over the missile issue is undermining confidence in the NATO policy nor the criticisms addressed to Chancellor Kohl that he follows those forces in the United States that have been more eager to deploy their own missiles in Europe than to reduce the number and gradually dismantle the Soviet missiles, have helped in this respect! Nor was it of any help when in a deeply moving scene nurse Christa Nickels, deputy of the Green Party, mounted the speaker's rostrum with a garland of flowers around her neck presented to her by Hiroshima survivors and presented it to Chancellor Kohl....

The government possesses a solid majority (286 "in favor" and 226 "against") which firmly marches in the bloc column despite the indecision of some individuals (four deputies failed to support the government).

The missiles bring many dilemmas.

The question that imposes itself in this connection is whether the West German peace movement will die away, as the champions of counterarmament silently wish, or will become even stronger, as the "national parliament" of 500 representatives from all parts of the country which held a session on the main square in Bonn simultaneously with the Bundestag session, has announced, and grow into a special and very significant political force, very diverse in ideological-political orientations but resolute in the struggle against the sowers of nuclear death, be they from the West or the East.

Brandt's SPD executed a turn at its last congress in Cologne (on 17 and 18 November) when it declared itself, by an enormous majority, against the deployment of new missiles and in favor of a continuation of the Geneva negotiations (only former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, his former ministers Hans Apel, Wischniewski, and Matthoefer and some 10 other deputies cast their votes "for"). This fact represents something significantly new in FRG political life. What will it bring for the SPD, what will be the reaction to it among other West European socialist parties that are members of the International, and what will the NATO reaction be? How will the two Germanies, the GDR and the FRG, cooperate in the future under the shadow of missiles? And how in general will the cooperation with the Eastern neighbors develop in the future? Judging by the information coming from Bonn, especially from Graf Lambsdorff, minister of economics, who held talks in Moscow last week (at the session of the German-Soviet Committee for Economic Cooperation, the economic cooperation will continue to develop normally. In view of the fact that what is involved are very large projects (the Siberian gas pipeline, the modernization of the Soviet economy and that the commodity trade amounted to a total value of DM20.8 billion last year (and to a total value of DM11.2 billion in the first 6 months this year), it is clear how much it is in the "mutual interest" to ensure that it continues to develop also under the "shadow of missiles."

Thus, the missiles introduce serious new elements into the sociopolitical panorama in the FRG. The coming period will show in what directions and to what extent they will express themselves. And in this connection it must not be forgotten that the seething atmosphere around the Bundestag and the stormy debate in that body (the police arrested 11 "Green" deputies as demonstrators) are at the same time a part of the election campaign for the next elections.

SPIILJAK SENDS CONGRATULATIONS TO ALBANIA

LD282236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade 28 Nov (TANJUG) -- In connection with the national holiday of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, has sent to Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the Albanian People's Assembly, a telegram with congratulations and wishes for the well-being of the people of this neighboring country.

EMBASSY IN PRC HOSTS NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION

LD282248 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Beijing, 28 Nov (TANJUG) -- Ambassador Sava Obradovic gave a reception in Beijing today in connection with Yugoslavia's most important holiday, while in the palace of the Chinese National People's Congress tonight the people here observed the SFRY holiday with a reception for the Yugoslavs.

A great many leaders and senior officials of the PRC came to the SFRY Embassy. They included Wan Li, the Chinese vicepremier and member of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee; Wei Guoqing, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress; Ji Pengfei, a member of the State Council; and Huang Yukun, deputy director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Army. Members of the diplomatic corps were also present.

Tonight the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries hosted Ambassador Sava Obradovic, embassy members, all the Yugoslavs serving in this country, and the young people studying at Chinese universities.

The meeting was held in the palace of the Chinese National People's Congress in Tiananmen Square. The hosts gave a dinner. Wang Bingnan, president of the association, and Ambassador Sava Obradovic delivered speeches in which they recalled the paths of China and Yugoslavia's liberation in authentic revolutions and stressed that close links of friendship and trust existed between the two socialist countries.

AVNOJ ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED 28 NOVEMBER

Assembly Chambers Session

AU281523 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1055 GMT on 28 November, jointly with Zagreb, Ljubljana, Novi Sad radio stations, and the Vojvodina Radio Station, and the Titograd and Sarajevo Radio Stations, carries a live relay of the formal joint session of the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ].

Vojo Srzentic, president of the SFRY Assembly, opens the session at 1058 GMT. Following the national anthem, Srzentic names and greets the following who are attending the session: veteran delegates of the AVNOJ; the president and members of the SFRY Presidency; the president and members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; the president and members of the Federal Executive Council; delegations of the SAWPY Federal Conference, the Council of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, the Council of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia, the Council of the Federation, the Conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, and the Yugoslav People's Army; delegations of the Socialist Republics and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces; delegations of the AVNOJ towns of Bihac, Jajce, and Belgrade; the presidents of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, and the Federal Conference of the Federation of Military Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia; representatives of Federal judicial organs; members of the British, Soviet, and American military missions to the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Units of Yugoslavia, William Deakin, Vasilii Mikhaylovich Sakharov, and (Timothy Pfeifer), and the diplomatic corps.

After calling for a minute of silence in honor of Josip Broz Tito and the deceased delegates to the second AVNOJ session, Srzentic delivers a brief opening address at 1103 GMT.

Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, begins his speech at 1108 GMT and concludes it at 1150 GMT. Vojo Srzentic thanks him and announces that the session is closed. The relay ends at 1154 GMT.

Spiljak Speech

LD281509 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0550 GMT 28 Nov 83

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG) -- At a solemn session to mark the 40th anniversary of the second session of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] held today in the Yugoslav Assembly, Mika Spiljak, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, delivered the following speech:

Four decades ago, at the height of World War II in the midst of enslaved Europe, people's representatives from all regions of Yugoslavia gathered together in free Jajce. They met to legalize what our nations and nationalities had fought for and won through their 2 and 1/2 years of heroic national liberation struggle -- a new national federal state. This they did at the second session of the AVNOJ on 29 November 1943, in decisions that essentially mapped out the permanent orientation of the joint future of all our nations and nationalities.

The historic gathering in the town on the Pliva was held at a time which was a great turning point -- when, following the failure of the enemy's two greatest offensives on the Neretva and the Sutjeska, the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia assumed even mightier dimensions, and when the armies of the anti-Hitlerite coalition were inflicting decisive blows against the fascist aggressors. The leadership of the national liberation movement at that time considered that all conditions for adopting decisions on the future state order had been achieved, so that the whole world could clearly be told what sort of Yugoslavia its nations were fighting for.

The decisions by which AVNOJ was constituted as the supreme political, legislative, and executive national representative body of Yugoslavia expressed the desire of all our nations and nationalities for life together in a new democratic state, in a community of free people and in a country of social and human liberties and national equality.

This lofty assembly of national representatives had the historic role of realizing through its decisions the centuries-old aspirations for liberty of the nations of Yugoslavia. In their many battles against foreign invaders, the nations in the south Slav area gained a maturing consciousness of their dependence upon one another. This was the vision of a common state in which the working people would rule and in which national freedom and equality would be ensured. Such a vision had been the persistent dream of the best sons of all our nations and nationalities and the most noble minds in our history. In the revolutionary decisions of the second session of AVNOJ these dreams found their way toward being turned into a reality which nothing could change anymore.

The decisions adopted on 29 November 1943 designated the victory of new, revolutionary social forces which, with the party and Tito at the head, were the factors of the liberation struggle of the nations of Yugoslavia. The assembly in Jajce was the sole national Parliament which was in session in the whirlwind of the war and made decisions along the lines of the Paris Commune and other great revolutions. It announced to the world the birth of a new and more just society.

Today we celebrate in freedom the 40th anniversary of that great historic event. We look back on the period between the two Novembers -- that of 1943 and that of 1983 -- filled with pride that the ideals of the AVNOJ councillors and the fighters of the revolution and the aspirations of our nations and nationalities are being successfully realized. The past 4 decades have been a period of dynamic social transformation in which the life of our people has become increasingly rich and free, and ennobled with increasingly highly developed spiritual and cultural values. Through those 4 decades however, development did not proceed solely on an upward and successful path, nor indeed, could it do so. The country's economic backwardness, outside pressures, the objective contradictions of development, cases of resistance to progress and from time to time also our own weaknesses, inconsistencies and shortcomings at certain times brought us up against difficulties and tribulations. As a revolutionary movement we always knew what we wanted; we had clear development goals, we were always united and we therefore overcame all the obstacles with which we were faced.

The common state created after World War I was not the sort of state the nations of Yugoslavia had conceived and desired. The imperialists carved it out in Versailles in accordance with their own interests and agreements. The Greater Serbian bourgeoisie, supported by the Croatian, Slovene and other bourgeoisies, imposed upon all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia the crudest social slavery and national subjugation. The merciless exploitation of the working class and peasants, the harsh persecution of communists and all progressive forces, and the country's subordination to foreign interests gave rise to great dissatisfaction and hatred by the peoples for the ruling regime.

From the time the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) was founded, and especially from the time Tito assumed his place at the head of it, Yugoslav Communists conducted a determined struggle to unite all democratic national forces for a free and better life. In many actions in defense of the interests of working people, the party exerted an increasingly broad influence upon the masses and prepared the working class and the widest strata of all the nations of Yugoslavia for decisive struggle for social and national liberties and against fascistization of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The party's influence was expressed particularly forcefully in the rebellion of 27 March 1941, which was aimed against the regime's attempts to hand over the country to the fascist occupiers. In the battle of April 1941, the ruling circles of the monarchist regime finally showed the extent of their alienation from the people and set out on the path of open betrayal. The Communist Party alone remained with the people as the sole all-Yugoslav political force, so that from the very first days of the occupation it began preparations for an all-people's uprising.

From the very beginning the party had a broad platform gathering together all the democratic and freedom-loving forces. It had a realistic vision of the struggle, not just against the occupiers and the traitors at home but also against social and political injustice; and of the struggle to overcome the profound national crisis in which the old Yugoslavia had found itself from its very foundation.

From the very first days of the uprising it was known that the national struggle could not be reduced simply to a matter of freeing the country from the occupiers. The broadest strata also desired profound social transformations which would mean a total divorce from the prewar state of affairs.

The adherents of all our nations and nationalities moved toward the uprising because they were convinced that only by means of joint struggle could the right of each nation to its own freedom, self-determination and equality be realized, and only thus must it be so. There are three key slogans which the CPY used in the liberation war to rally, organize and lead the broadest working and popular masses of all nationalities, and these are: "Death To Fascism -- Freedom to the People" -- the call to free the country from the occupiers; "No turning Back to the Past" -- as a platform of social liberation; and "Brotherhood - Unity" -- as the guarantee of national liberation and complete equality of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. The experience of the common liberation struggle demonstrated that brotherhood and unity are the guarantee of the freedom and better life of each nation and of all of them together.

These three slogans formed an indivisible whole, expressing the unity of the national liberation and revolutionary struggle in Yugoslavia. The party and Tito were profoundly conscious of the fact that there can be no national equality unless the interests of the working class are realized, and that without equality of all the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia the full national rights of any nation individually cannot be guaranteed, nor can the socialist transformation of the country be successfully carried out. The most important condition for such a prospect was the liberation of the country from the occupiers and their servants at home.

The formation of partisan units, brigades and the larger units of the national liberation army of Yugoslavia, the foundation of national liberation committees and the operation of the National Liberation Front, which gathered together all democratic and antifascist forces, were the concrete expressions of the great social changes which were then taking place in Yugoslavia.

On the liberated and the occupied territory of the country a new social force grew up which, fighting against the occupiers, had increasing success in squeezing out the forces of the old order, too. National liberation committees were set up as a new type of people's democratic and revolutionary power. As early as the beginning of 1942 the method and content of the work of the national liberation committees were set out in the Foca Regulations, that historic document which was created and applied in the difficult conditions of war. In accordance with its democratic content, the new people's power had all the essential qualities which would later find expression in our socialist self-management and the delegate system. In connection with this, Comrade Kardelj wrote in his essay "Directions of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management".

Without the people's democratic revolution which relied on the broadest popular masses, especially the working masses, and without the decentralized free initiative of these masses, such forms of self-managing democratic relations as have been developed in the post-war development of Yugoslavia could probably not have arisen. The working masses, which during the course of the national liberation war and the revolution once and for all acquired the right and opportunity to make their own self-managing decisions, were not willing to abandon that right lightly to some new state bureaucracy."

Successful development of the national liberation struggle made it possible for the first session of AVNOJ to be held in Bihac in November 1942. The new international situation of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia was defined by the decisions of the second AVNOJ session, to the effect that the king and the government-in-exile should not be allowed to return to the country and that the parts of our country which Croats and Slovenes had lived in for centuries and which had been torn away from the homeland after World War I should be reintegrated into it. These decisions clearly establish that the new Yugoslavia as an independent and autonomous country would, from that time onwards, never again permit others to make decisions on the rights of its nations and nationalities for free development and independent choice of social system.

The right of each nation independently to decide its own state order and relations with other nations found full expression in the foundation, before the second session of AVNOJ, of national political organs -- the national liberation committees in the provinces and regions. Thus, the foundations of the Federal system, and of an equal community of voluntarily united nations of Yugoslavia were therefore laid down before the historic gathering in Jajce. At that time, in addition to the territorial councils, there were also in operation 14 main, provincial and regional committees, 52 district national liberation committees and a wide network of Kotar, Srez municipal and local national liberation committees in which more than 150,000 councillors and committee members were active.

At the time of the second session of AVNOJ the Yugoslav National Liberation Army had 300,000 fighters in eight corps with 26 divisions, several independent brigades and 108 partisan detachments. By this time it had already liberated more than half the territory of Yugoslavia. The fact that during the war our National Liberation Army constantly pinned down to the Yugoslav battlefield between 30 and 55 divisions of the occupying forces, with 600-850 thousand soldiers, is eloquent witness to the size of this force.

By its struggle against the occupying forces and their collaborators -- the traitors at home -- and by the position which it gained in the war the National Liberation Army, as the armed force of the Yugoslav revolution, fought for and won the status of an equal partner in the anti-Hitler coalition. The whole world wondered at the feats of fighters from our nations and nationalities. This is a reality which everyone must respect in the plans for Yugoslavia's future. Without this struggle we would not have achieved the right to make our own independent decisions about our social order and about the independent policy of the new Yugoslavia. This right was not given to us by anybody at a baize-covered table, but was acquired by great sacrifices and by our contribution to the common victory over fascism. In the liberation war 305,000 of our fighters perished and 1 in 9 Yugoslavs lost his life.

It was necessary to ensure through the decisions of the second AVNOJ session that the revolutionary achievements fought for and won should also be maintained and guaranteed after the war. In his report to the second AVNOJ session, Tito laid particular stress on the fact that AVNOJ's evolution into the supreme legislative and representative body and the foundation of the national committee of liberation of Yugoslavia was chiefly aimed at thwarting "any attempt from any side whatsoever which would work toward preventing the realization of the aspirations for which our people shed so much blood in the great liberation struggle."

It is historically to the credit of the CPU and Comrade Tito that they made a realistic assessment and concluded that by the end of 1943 conditions were ripe for the constitution of a new Yugoslav state, thereby permanently ensuring the results and fruits of the national liberation struggle of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia was the sole occupied country in Europe which liberated itself through its own forces and which saw the end of the war with its own new system of power already developed and consolidated -- people's power with a new people's parliament and government which had for 2 years before the end of the war already functioned and represented the country to the world.

Yugoslavia also confirmed each stage in its further development by revolutionary acts, from the declaration proclaiming the republic in 1945 to the first constitution in 1946 and the constitutional law of 1953, which introduced socialist self-management as the basic social relation, right up to the 1974 constitution. Thus a new era of the struggle for socialism was ushered in with the aim of fully guaranteeing the deciding role of the working class and associated labor in all spheres of the country's social, political and economic life. In each new phase of development the principles of AVNOJ -- freedom, equality and continual deepening of brotherhood and unity and life together, the all-round development of the nations and nationalities, genuine people's power, the country's sovereignty, integrity and independence -- manifested themselves in new contents and forms.

Along our road in building socialism we traversed untrodden paths, so we did not always have ready answers to all questions of further development. On the other hand we did have a secure point of departure and ideological orientations, which were founded on the achievements of the national liberation struggle and the revolution and the most progressive ideals in the history of the struggle of our peoples, the working class and the workers' movement and the progressive forces in the world.

If we turn to the development of our society from the second session of AVNOJ until today, it can rightly be said that the decisions of that historic assembly have been consistently implemented. We are building and developing a socialist self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia, an equal community of nations and nationalities -- one that is active in the struggle for peace and progress and for equal and just relations between peoples, nations and states.

Since AVNOJ, great changes have been accomplished in Yugoslavia in the development of productive forces, in the social structure of the population, in education, knowledge and culture, and in the standard of living and way of life. What the old Yugoslavia left us as a heritage in the material respect is well known. The very fact that compared to prewar Yugoslavia the national income per capita of the population -- which has in the meantime grown considerably -- is about 15 times greater, and that before the war 3/4 of the population lived in rural areas in extremely poor conditions is sufficient evidence of what things were like then and of our starting point.

The level of education and public health before the war reflected the country's general economic backwardness but also reflected the national inequality and lack of rights of workers and peasants. All this had its effect on the human life span, which was on average only 45 years while today it is 69. A great part of this markedly low material basis and economic potential of prewar Yugoslavia was destroyed in the war.

It was in such conditions that the reconstruction and development of the country proceeded. This was the time of a great all-people's effort to renew the country and extract it from its economic backwardness. Then factories, hydroelectric power stations, highways and new towns sprang up on all sides.

This was a time in which the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people was the chief mobilizing force. These were the years of turning the foundations into the material force of socialism. The life of the people changed rapidly, becoming increasingly rich in the material and spiritual aspects, and the foundations of national equality and independence were also growing stronger.

The rapid growth of the per capita social product which already by the start of this decade amounted to about \$2,800 bears eloquent witness to the speed of that development and of the human effort involved. In 1950, Yugoslavia was at a level of 64 percent of the world average in terms of development; by 1960, it had reached 86 percent. It exceeded the world average by 15 percent in 1970 and by about 40 percent in 1980. Since the introduction of workers' self-management, the real social product has doubled every 10 years.

According to international bank data, Yugoslavia is one of the very few developing countries that has managed substantially to reduce the gap between it and the most developed countries. It should be said that similar results have been achieved in raising virtually all aspects of the standard of living.

The economically insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous province of Kosovo have also achieved great economic progress, thus creating the basis for an even faster development. A large contribution to this will be the infrastructure that has been built and that in many spheres is almost up to the level of that in the developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in its modernity. The differences between the economically insufficiently developed and the developed parts of our country have also been reduced in respect of certain important elements in the standard of living: the number of flats constructed; the area of housing per capita; the number of cars, radios, and televisions; the consumption of all other consumer durables; and the number of pupils, students, and doctors per capita.

Even the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo today has a national income per capita that is several times higher than the average income in Yugoslavia following liberation. This is all the result of the efforts of the working people in the insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, as well as the solidarity of the entire Yugoslav community.

The most far-reaching changes have come about in the social structure of Yugoslav society. In old Yugoslavia, which had too many people living on the land, 76 percent of the population were engaged in agriculture and lived on it because they could not find work in other spheres. Now about 20 percent of the population are engaged in agriculture. It is also very significant that in such a short time, society has been able to carry out major social transformation. However, on the deficit side of this success is the fact that the countryside has been left without enough young manpower, with the result that this is jeopardizing the further development of agricultural production and increased income.

Even though the problem of unemployment is today one of the burning economic and social problems, we must not forget that since the end of the war, the number of employed people has been increasing very rapidly. In 1947, there were only 1,200 million workers with employment; last year there were more than 6 million. The number of employed increased during this period at an average annual rate of 4.8 percent. Let us add that almost 2 million people receive pensions and that a large number of people generate income through private work in handicrafts, catering, tourism, and the private sector of agriculture. A significant number of pupils and students receive credit and grants, and social benefits are also considerable. This all demonstrates that a large proportion of the population directly earn or generate additional income, which has considerable bearing on the material position of the population.

The number of qualified workers has grown constantly with the number of those in employment. In addition to regular schooling that embraces the majority of our young people, about 100,000 workers per annum are engaged in part-time education while working and about 750,000 per annum are gaining some sort of additional education.

These are excellent results. This is why we can say today that we have a new, educated, and self-management-oriented working class. Together with modern technology and equipment, it is the great guarantee that we shall surmount the present difficulties and delays.

For all these reasons, when we today approach the implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program and seek ways and means for eliminating the causes of the numerous weaknesses, we must not lose sight of the major results in our development so far. These successes are a powerful basis for solving our present problems and an encouragement that we shall also overcome the current difficulties and embark along the road of further accelerated development.

This powerful economic and general development of Yugoslavia followed from the introduction of socialist self-management, which freed great creative forces and initiatives. All our experience so far shows that deceleration in the development of the country came about when there was a stagnation in self-management and vacillation regarding its continued development.

These results and this self-management development were made possible by the working class, the working people, and the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. They were also made possible by the system of our all-people's defense and social self-protection, which has ensured our independence, peace, freedom of work, and free life. They were also made possible by our active independent and nonaligned foreign policy, through which we have gained many friends throughout the world.

"These results," Tito said at the 10th League of Communists Congress, "have been achieved in the system of self-management, which the workers accepted as their own inalienable revolutionary gain, aware that it alone could ensure that, as free and equal producers and creators, they create better living conditions for themselves through their own work."

Our development has not been without difficulties. We have met with resistance, come through crisis situations, but we have never vacillated or moved outside of the mainstream of the revolution.

Today we also face serious difficulties. The economic misfortunes and crisis shaking the whole world, which particularly affect the developing countries, have not passed Yugoslavia by. The economic situation we are in is exceptionally complex. To a large degree it is the result of our development problems, the failure to respond in time to the changes in the world economy, the inertia of old practices and the methods of economic operation and management, and stubborn resistance to the development of self-management from the centralized and decentralized statist forces. All this merely exacerbates the vacillation over the content of concrete measures which are to be taken in the implementation of the economic stabilization program, and also encourages resistance. Under these circumstances it is a particular source of encouragement that in the broadest masses of the working people the resolve and demand that stabilization should be consistently implemented in all environments and at all levels are strengthening.

The economic stabilization program is not merely a short-term project to extricate ourselves from the present difficulties. It is an integral program for our present and our future, which points to effective self-management solutions arising from the demand for the fullest possible exploitation of our economy's and society's potential.

The conditions of economic operation, which must be altered and adjusted to the demands of economic stabilization, have to be created at all levels and in all spheres of life, and not merely in the organs of the federation, because these organs are not the sole bearers of responsibility for these changes.

Changes in the foreign trade and foreign currency systems, in the relations of prices in primary distribution and in the credit and monetary systems are certainly very important and cannot be delayed. However, also important are changes in secondary distribution, in overall consumption and its adjustment to the potential of the economy, and in all those environments which determine the material position of the organizations of associated labor. This latter decision is made in all socio-political communities, particular responsibility here lying with the organs of the socialist republics and the social autonomous provinces.

We must especially be constantly aware that the basic precondition for carrying out the long-term economic stabilization program is the strengthening of the material base of associated labor and self-management. This demands a change in the conduct of all the agents of social reproduction and the establishment of new relations in every organization of associated labor, as well as conduct in all work and social environments, which is in line with the stabilization program.

For this reason the realization of the proclaimed policy and the responsibility for its consistent implementation must become the sole criterion for everybody's conduct. We need a speedy and energetic change in direction here, but also patient, long-term and persistent work in order to exploit as fully as possible the material potential, human resources and advantages which our system affords. Firmly relying on the basic gains of the national liberation struggle, which are expressed in the decisions of the second AVNOJ session, and woven into the constitution and law on associated labor, we must, without any prejudices, analyze the functioning of the socioeconomic and political system. In a free and critical manner, and with the involvement of science, associated labor and the broadest social masses, we must perceive the weaknesses in practice and change everything that directly or indirectly hinders the socialist self-management system in the expression of all its merits.

In all this, major tasks lie with the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations. In this great and complex battle the LC, as in all previous battles, will again know how to rally and mobilize all the social forces in order to carry out this greatest of tasks, both today and for a long time in the future.

The standpoints of the 10th LCY Central Committee Session, the Assembly and the SFRY Presidency demand of everyone the consistent implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program. We must not brook any vacillation or delay in the struggle on which the continued successful course of our revolution depends.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to the bureaucratic, technocratic and petit-bourgeois forces threatening the gains of AVNOJ and the revolution or the socialist prospect of development, or short-sighted, partial interests imposing themselves as general, progressive and self-management. Deeds must follow words and verbal declarations, and these deeds will lead next year and in the years to come to a new upswing of the economy and to an improvement of the conditions of life and work of our people.

In its foreign policy, our country has always consistently striven for respect for independence, sovereignty, and integrity of all the countries and peoples. In this way our foreign policy has expressed the essence and the nature of the inner being of our society and our revolution. Even during the national liberation struggle and after its victory, in all the period of our development up to the present time, we have offered support and aid to the peoples and liberation movements which struggled for freedom and independence, for the right to their own road of development, and for equal relations in the international community.

Out of these deeply democratic principles, the Yugoslav policy and practice of non-alignment was shaped and built as a nonbloc and truly democratic alternative.

The world knows and esteems us, because we are sincere fighters for peace, disarmament, the peaceful solving of contentious issues, mutual respect, understanding among nations and states, and constructive cooperation, regardless of differences in social systems, international position, power, size of territory or population. The progressive world also esteems us because we are struggling to reduce the gap between the developed and developing countries, and because we are struggling for a new, more just international economic order. From the second AVNOJ session up to the present day, Yugoslavia's principled foreign policy has always been inspired by the same humanist and democratic precepts.

Today, when the ominous clouds of nuclear catastrophe, increasingly crude aggression, force, intervention and national oppression are gathering over mankind, and when the old crisis spots of international conflict are flaring up and new ones are being kindled, the whole of the progressive world, and particularly the nonaligned countries, are taking a resolute stand against the increasingly fierce arms race between the blocs. The millions-strong movements among the masses throughout the whole world against constant arming, and especially against the piling-up of nuclear weapons on our continent, deserve full support. For this reason, we support all proposals and actions that might help overcome the madness, stop the dangerous playing around with mankind's fate, put an end to all provocations and aggressive actions that increase world tension and already-encumbered and very tense relations, prevent the opening-up of new crisis spots in all parts of the world and solve the existing problems through peaceful means.

The decisions of the second AVNOJ session are the basis of our daily social life and social practice. They have been built into our successes and into our plans for the future.

If, as Marx used to stress, it is in the nature of genuine social revolutions to criticize their own shortcomings and, in the context of this criticism, to go back to their own social origins and basic principles so as to create the scope for new and more rapid progress, then the decisions of the second AVNOJ session constitute such a historic origin for our Yugoslav revolution upon which it must always rely in its march forward.

It is the fate of all great changes in history that their greatness and importance are confirmed or denied depending on how they determine social developments and events that follow and to what extent they are a reliable pointer and weapon to the new generations in the struggle for further social progress. This is why the second AVNOJ session is an event of lasting historic significance which does not belong merely to the time in which it was held. This is an event that provided the foundation for the time in which we live now and that opened up the prospect for our future.

Without the heroic and hard struggle of our celebrated partisan detachments, brigades and divisions, without the maximum support of our people, without the united communist party and Comrade Tito, we would not have had either AVNOJ or socialist Yugoslavia. History has confirmed this truth about us and about Tito. Great revolutions produce great people. In our revolution this was Tito. He came from the people, from the working class. He grew with the party, he raised himself to be one of the greatest personalities of our century. He was an architect of our time, capable of reaching into the future. With his revolutionary work and life, he became the greatest man in the history of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities. From the periphery of world history, Tito took us into the world. This is why Tito's path is our path.

Those who were born at the time of the Jajce meeting are now 40 years old. They have children who are incorporated into our life and work. Our task is to work ceaselessly so that our young people may be moved with the deep-seated humane character characteristic of our people. Young people must know of the ideals and objectives for which we then fought. By the same token the young generation today, as indeed was the case during the liberation war and during the reconstruction of the country, must be at the center of social developments and must bear its share of the commitments and responsibilities for the conduct of social business. The lofty moral traits of the fighters for social progress, for Yugoslav socialist patriotism -- self-denial, comradeship, collective spirit and loyalty to the humane aims of the revolution -- are required today too. We rightly expect the present young generations, which display these lofty moral qualities through extensive action in all the fields of social life and especially with enthusiasm in youth work drives, to be worthy followers of the people of their own age who took part in the war and post-war construction. In so doing they consistently and without hesitation guard the achievements of the revolution, and contribute to their further development and enrichment with new revolutionary content whereby they also ensure their own future.

The young people today express their revolutionary spirit with their struggle for the further development of self-management socialist and social relations and by overcoming the difficulties and breaking any resistance standing in our way. The young people must not be satisfied with what has been achieved, but must fight for better and more things. These are the objectives that were set by the generation that, with its struggle four decades ago, made the second AVNOJ session possible. This is why it succeeded in that historic battle. This is why when we today point out the historic importance of the decisions of the second AVNOJ session we do so in order to encourage all our people so that, by following unswervingly along Tito's path under the LC leadership, we may join the battle for the implementation of the most important tasks of the present stage of the development of our revolution, the battle for economic stabilization.

Today, when we are our own masters in a free country, and when we are building a society worthy of free men, regardless of the difficulties which we now have, we can look into our future with the same optimism with which those taking part in the second AVNOJ session proclaimed the birth of a new Yugoslavia, a Yugoslavia in which its working class and working people, all its nations and nationalities live in freedom, equality, concord, brotherhood and unity.

From this great meeting of the representatives of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, we congratulate the working people and citizens of Yugoslavia on the 40th anniversary of the second AVNOJ session and on the Day of the Republic.

MARKOVIC ADDRESSES SABAC FACTORY WORKERS

LD252305 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Text] Sabac, 25 Nov (TANJUG) -- By commissioning this modern, high-productivity factory equipped with the latest technology, we are marking in the best possible way the 40th anniversary of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the creation of new Yugoslavia, Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee, said today at the Zorka factory of the chemical combine which is celebrating the 45th anniversary of its business activity and work.

Recalling the path which has been traversed with difficulty and the price that had to be paid for backwardness, lack of knowledge, and inexperience, Dragoslav Markovic pointed to the results achieved:

In the past 35 years we have increased industrial production 19 times. In a period of 30 years we have increased agricultural production 3.2 times. Wheat yields have increased four-fold, and corn production has tripled. Returns in the social sector are among the highest in the world. National income has risen from \$200 to about \$3,000 per capita. We have built and modernized 55,000 km of roads. Seventy-six percent of the population used to live in villages, and today this figure is 20 percent. More than 6 million people are employed in the social sector. We have 460,000 tractors, 9,200 combine harvesters, 3 million cars and trucks. We have constructed 3.5 million apartments.

We have become, Markovic went on, an averagely industrially developed country, which is building most progressive socialist, self-managing relations in a community of equal nations and nationalities. Referring to discrepancies in internal development, Markovic gave a series of concrete examples to illustrate the fact that the level of production forces achieved requires a far greater degree of organization, association, and integration of the economy, surmounting all forms of isolationism and one-sided interests, the greatest possible degree of coordination and cooperation, and the functioning and strengthening of an integral Yugoslav market.

The economic forces which have grown up will not tolerate more administrative restrictions and limitations. The only laws to which the economy must submit are economic laws, market laws of a socialist self-managing economy, guided by development plans and their instruments, Markovic emphasized.

Noting frequent deviations from what has been agreed, cases of illegality and violations of the norms of our system which have serious negative consequences and not just for the economy, Dragoslav Markovic stressed that awareness of the inviolability of social property must be persistently and increasingly developed. Awareness that idleness is also theft and unjustifiable deprivation from some one else is still not sufficiently present. If it were otherwise there would not be so much false solidarity with idleness, indiscipline, unfulfillment of duties, Markovic said, adding that consistent rewarding of work results, with particular regard for production work, work in difficult conditions, inventive and creative work is the only possible path in the struggle for greater labor productivity and greater efficiency of economic activity.

Delays in expanding self-managing relations, weaknesses which we have been encountering for a long time in the functioning of the delegate system in the area of interest organization and free exchange of labor, elements of etatism which still have not been overcome in many important sectors -- from the material position of associated labor and of the associated worker and basic production relation, to phenomena of bureaucratic tendencies in the front of subjective forces of society -- all these place a burden on the overall development of society. They call for well thought-out organized efforts for better functioning of the sociopolitical system and its further expansion, he said. Precisely this awareness that we are concerned with a complex long-term process imposes the need for comprehensive responsible, analytical work and the involvement of all institutions of the system, all political, scientific and expert potentials, in order to make a comprehensive evaluation of the results of development to date, identify the cause of the unsatisfactory state in individual areas, remove weaknesses in the practical application of the system and in its functioning, clearly determine the directions of further activity and to ensure a forward trend. Stagnation and delay must not be characteristics of the situation for long, Markovic stressed.

Dragoslav Markovic then went on to emphasize that members of the LCY, by the force of their personal example, must take the lead in mobilizing the working people and that the involvement of the most conscious forces of society is of prime importance.

It is not easy, particularly in the present circumstances when we are faced with many difficulties and burdened with many problems, to find the strength to overcome egoistical particularism, the pressure of transitory individual interest over that which represents real, broad interest and real perspectives.

The strength of our system and its ability to successfully resolve all social discrepancies and guide development in the desired direction lie in open dialogue, reconciliation of different interests, and in constructive effort to arrive at the best solutions, Markovic said. There is no need for concern about unity if various interests, various opinions and different points of view on the political decisions which have to be taken gain expression in public debate. Without this, Markovic considers, there is no democratic method of decisionmaking, without this there is no self-management.

Markovic added that we should struggle to overcome these differences and recalled that there have always been differences but that they are now public. The problem does not lie in the differences, but arises when "paralysis" in decisionmaking is reached, when even after decisions and agreements have been made we continue to behave "in the old way." This is what should concern us. That is when we can and must justifiably speak of a threat to unity, and when we must demand full responsibility for the implementation of decisions adopted on behalf of the common interest and undertake sanctions against those who do not adhere to them.

This is why criticism of the objective and subjective side of our errors and weaknesses is essential, as well as the struggle for the implementation of our tasks. There is isolationism, resistance to any form of criticism, and there is fear and abhorrence of the consequences, and this leads to concealment of what is obvious. No one, Dragoslav Markovic said, can bear the negative consequences for raising in a responsible manner unresolved problems, for pointing out unutilized possibilities and absence of responsibility, but for slander and untruthful claims we should be answerable politically and before the law. We are talking about two sides of the same question. By initiating false problems we are clouding the real issues.

Control of implementation and responsibility are preconditions for the efficacy of the functioning of any system, Markovic said, stressing that the times in which we are living demand the highest degree of responsibility from every individual, every institution, and overall social behavior. Going on to recall that it has never been easy for us, either in wartime or in peace, Dragoslav Markovic noted that we have emerged stronger from every crisis and that our strength lies primarily in our internal development, in the stability of our system, and in the ability to resolve the problems with which we are faced.

The fact that we have the possibility and the strength to overcome the present situation is shown in the results which have been achieved in this particularly difficult year, and these are important because they show our possibilities. However, as in all periods of crisis, Markovic recalled, today also there is a revival of various hostile forces in our country and abroad, which are uniting and creating common platforms. Their aim is the same: to use the difficulties with which we are struggling and to aim attacks at our system, at the AVNOJ foundations of our federal community of self-managing nations and nationalities.

Recalling also that nationalistic attacks on brotherhood and unity, on national equality, have always been the broadest platform for rallying all antisocial and antiself-managements forces, Markovic stressed that we will not allow anyone to disturb the achievements of our struggle.

The best reply to all attacks against our socialist and independent path are results, better work, and greater productivity.

This is the right occasion to say this, here in your collective, which is the bearer of an AVNOJ award, a collective which has been registering enviable results for many years, said Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee in conclusion as he congratulated the Zorka collective on their new work achievement and wished them success in their further work.

SUKOVIC EXPLAINS DRAFT LAW ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE

AU251206 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 83

[Text] The draft law on amendments to the Law on Foreign Exchange aims at increasing social influence in the use of foreign exchange. In future, foreign exchange will be exclusively used for foreign payments, while the dinar will be the only means of payments in the country. Today, this important document, which should make it possible to stimulate production and exports even more, was presented to the public. At a press conference, Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, spoke on the substance of the draft amendments to the law on foreign exchange. Aleksandar Vljakovic reports on further details:

The new draft law basically proceeds from the fundamental solutions provided for by the existing law. What is new is the fact that the draft law offers certain proposals which should also make it possible to implement the basic orientations of the present law. It is naturally implied in this connection that the solutions offered by the long-term economic stabilization program are also foreseen. The purpose is to increase the circulation of foreign exchange which means that, in future, the exporters will not be able to hold foreign exchange funds in their accounts but will have to sell them in the foreign exchange market in order to include them in the currents of a unified foreign exchange market. To achieve this, two groups of solutions are proposed, Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, said.

[Begin Sukovic recording] The first of these solutions are those which constitute an imperative order and an obligation under the threat of sanctions that exporters must carry them out. This applies to the foreign exchange funds in excess of the socially recognized reproduction needs. No one has the right to hold foreign exchange funds in foreign exchange accounts in excess of the socially recognized reproduction needs, and everyone is obliged to sell such foreign exchange funds and include them in the foreign exchange market, in the currents of a unified foreign exchange market.

The second group of solutions includes those that compel the organizations of associated labor to ensure by economic means the circulation of the foreign exchange funds acquired by them: they are deprived of the right to stimulating measures provided for by the credit monetary policy and all other dinar stimulations, customs stimulations, and so forth, if they retain the foreign exchange funds. Thus they become economically interested in including the foreign exchange funds in the currents of the foreign exchange market. And in this connection stronger guarantees are also provided for the organizations of associated labor that they will be able to buy foreign exchange from banks at the time when they need it, that is, for all their needs according to the rate of their foreign commitments. [end recording]

The existence of a unified foreign exchange market is a prerequisite for the normal functioning of the law even though the question arises in this connection whether there will be enough foreign exchange in the foreign exchange market. The proposers of the law say that there will be enough foreign exchange even without any surplus in the balance of payments because it is necessary to proceed from the real situation in the economy and society. In this connection it is necessary to prevent any great decline in the value of the dinar and continue to pursue the policy of a realistic rate of exchange without undervaluing or overvaluing the national currency.

In future, the work organizations themselves would satisfy the needs for foreign exchange through self-managing agreements but not within the framework of activity, as the existing law stipulates, but on the basis of reproduction needs within the general associations of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia. Naturally, the foreign exchange funds will be distributed beforehand among the general associations on the basis of the unified criteria that should be adopted and issued by the Interest Community of Yugoslavia for Foreign Economic Relations.

Answering our question whether the draft law provides for any changes concerning the use of foreign exchange funds by citizens, Mijat Sukovic said that everything stays as it is with the exception of the proposal to abolish the sales of goods for foreign exchange dinars at reduced prices; the proposal exempts foreigners and our workers abroad from this provision, however.

Let us add in conclusion that the new law should come into effect as of the beginning of the new year, which implies that all accompanying procedures and regulations should be completed by the end of the year.

[Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 24 November carries a 3-minute report on the press conference of Mijat Sukovic, including a 90-second recorded passage from Sukovic's statements in which he stresses among other things: "Without a foreign exchange market it is impossible even to ensure that the dinar will be the only means of payment in the country. Without a foreign exchange market the dinar cannot have an equal value. Without a foreign exchange market it is in fact impossible to ensure any allocation of foreign exchange on a self-managing basis. A unified, organized, and directed foreign exchange market is a force and, to a certain extent, also a condition for the existence of a unified Yugoslav market as a whole." He also points out that all foreign exchange "funds allocated for social needs, the needs of the Federation, will go through that unified foreign exchange market."]